# REINVENTING QUAKERISM: THE PEACE TESTIMONY AND THE FIVE YEARS MEETING, 1902-1919

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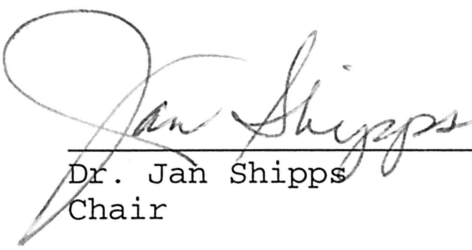

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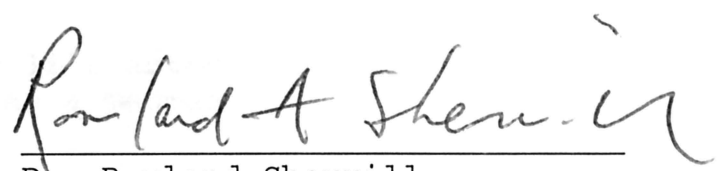

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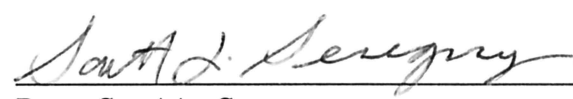

Dr. Scott Seregny

**To Michelle Hale**

"Here I have for once in my life acted sincerely and, well, you all look upon me as a madman."

- *Fyodor Dostoevsky*

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## Introduction: A Matter of Dialectics

In their foreword to Thomas Hamm's *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends 1800-1907*, Stephen Stein and Catherine Albanese say the author, "helps us understand why many American Quakers in the twentieth century are nearly indistinguishable from their Protestant neighbors."[1] In his study of the largest body of American Quakers, which had claimed the name "Orthodox Quakers" in 1827 at the time of the Hicksite separation, Hamm traced the connection that developed between these Quakers and the evangelical mainstream in nineteenth century America.[2] The goal of this public history paper is to show that, however much Friends may have seemed to resemble evangelical Protestants in the early decades of the twentieth century, a traditional Quaker doctrine, the peace testimony, kept Quakerism and mainstream Protestantism apart.

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[1]Thomas D. Hamm, *The Transformation of American Quakerism: Orthodox Friends, 1800-1907* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1988) ix.

[2]Since this public history paper concentrates on American religion in the second half of the nineteenth century and first decades of the twentieth century, as used here the term *evangelical* refers to the churches of the Protestant mainstream (Presbyterians, Congregationalists, Methodists, American Baptists, Episcopalians, Lutherans, and Disciples of Christ), as well as ecclesiastical institutions that are a part of the National Association of Evangelicals.

At the same time, the peace testimony helped shape the distinctive Quaker "denomination" that has developed in the years since the end of the First World War.[3] As I will show, the war came at a time when many leading Quakers believed that the world was on the verge of a great spiritual revolution. This revolution, they believed, would bring a new awareness of the importance of individual spirituality and mysticism to the larger Protestant world. In this sense, the "transformation" that Hamm describes was intended not so much to make Quakers more like mainstream Protestants as it was to prepare the Society of Friends to play host to this forthcoming spiritual revolution.

However, World War I shattered the hopes and dreams of these Quaker visionaries. It also put American Quakers in a very difficult position: would they erase all of the ecumenical progress they had recently made by renouncing the war or would they follow the rest of Protestant America into "the war to end war" and renounce their pacifist heritage?

In the event, they did neither. Unable to break either their ecumenical bonds or their deeply held traditional

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[3]The term "Friend" is used within the Society of Friends to identify members. The term "Quaker," though originally an insult used by non-Friends describing the shaking fits that overcame many early Friends during meetings for silent worship, is now accepted as a term of identification by members and non-members and the two terms are here used interchangeably.

convictions, American Quaker leaders created an "active pacifism" that enabled individual Friends to serve humanity and their country without abandoning the peace testimony.

As with much recent scholarship about the Quakers, Hamm's book and this study both focus on the transformation from sect to denomination. The distinction between church and sect was first clarified by German scholar Ernst Troeltsch in a description of what happened to religion in Europe after the Protestant Reformation.[4] Since "church" assumed different institutional forms with different ecclesiastical polities in the various English colonies on the North American continent, students of American religion usually apply Troeltsch's distinction by pointing to the difference between denominations and sectarian groups. Whether in Europe or in North America, however, in the Troeltschian model, a church/denomination is characterized by advanced institutional organization and intense involvement in secular affairs. Sects, on the other hand, are characterized by exclusivity, loose organization, and withdrawal from the secular world. In *The Hicksite Separation*, sociologist Robert Doherty argues that socioeconomic changes in early nineteenth century America brought about the split between a traditional sectarian form

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[4]Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches* (New York: Harper, 1960).

of Quakerism (the Hicksites) and a new "Orthodox" Quaker denomination (the Gurneyites).[5] The important difference for this study is that while a sect seeks to constantly distinguish its members from the rest of society, a denomination attempts to bring the larger secular society into its fold and thereby make it sacred.

Where Hamm, a Quaker, was struck by the degree to which a once peculiar sect became absorbed into the American religious mainstream, I, a Presbyterian, am fascinated by the ease with which historians of religion have been convinced that this idiosyncratic tradition can be categorized as a conventional Protestant denomination. The fact that I, a late-twentieth century visitor from a conventional mainstream congregation, found the Orthodox Quaker worship experience alien caused me to ask whether Hamm's conclusion might need to be considerably qualified.

Recognizing the astuteness of Hamm's ground-breaking work and acknowledging the persuasiveness of his argument, I do not challenge Hamm's conclusion that Orthodox Quakerism in America clearly moved away from its traditional sectarian mode in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. I will contend, however, that the move toward a denominational mode was motivated by the belief that Protestantism was

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[5]Robert Doherty, *The Hicksite Separation* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1967).

going to undergo a "Quakerization" and not a desire to "Protestantize" Quakerism. Moreover, I will show that the perseverance of the "peace testimony" kept the Quaker "denomination" that developed in American after 1902 from becoming simply another form of evangelical Protestantism.

Hamm convincingly argues that the transformation from sect to denomination could not have taken place without a Holiness revival that swept through Quakerism in the last third of the nineteenth century. Chapter One of this study, "The Sign of the Cross," examines the transformation in authority structure and subsequent reinvention of Quaker identity that occurred as a result of this Holiness revival. It describes how these changes created numerous schisms within Orthodox Quakerism, spurring the creation of the Five Years Meeting of Orthodox Friends in America.[6] It also

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[6]The term "meeting" has a variety of different applications within Quakerdom. It is the traditional word for the Quaker worship service. These services were traditionally held in "meeting houses," but, as a result of the changes discussed below, most Quaker structures are now referred to as churches. "Meeting" is also the term used to describe any Quaker organizational body, from the local Preparative Meeting, a term which denotes an individual Quaker congregation, to Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, delegated bodies comprised of representatives from meetings in a defined geographic area that meet regularly to discuss issues important to the entire body of Quakers in that area. As Quakers migrated west and won new converts in the last third of the nineteenth century, travel to the established Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings became a burden for a large number of members and new meetings developed in practically every state from Iowa to California.

focuses on the development and functions of this national judicatory body which managed to direct an institutional reconstruction of Orthodox Quakerism at the national, regional, and local levels.

The new Quaker identity forged by the Five Years Meeting involved a process that changed traditional belief and behavior. Chapter Two, "Into the Fold," will describe and analyze this process by means of a thorough examination of the relationship between a single congregation, First Friends Church in Indianapolis, Indiana, and the national judicatory body during the years between 1902 and 1917. Because so many influential members of First Friends became consequential figures in the Five Years Meeting (and vice versa), this close study of the connection between First Friends and the Five Years Meeting will clarify the extent to which Orthodox Quakerism had aligned itself with the evangelical mainstream by the eve of World War I and the extent to which it still maintained its distinctive character at that point in time.

The third chapter, "Service and Sacrifice," will examine Quaker involvement in ecumenical organizations and, especially, national and international peace societies in the first two decades of the twentieth century. It will also trace the impact of the peace testimony on American Quakerism in relationship to the larger Protestant

mainstream in the years before and throughout the course of World War I. This look at the Orthodox Quaker response to World War I will show how the newly organized Quaker denomination and the traditional Quaker peace testimony worked together to shape a unique and powerful "active pacifism" which caused Orthodox Quakers to retain a traditional separateness.

In sum, this study will argue that the Quaker denomination confronting World War I was not simply another brand of evangelical Protestantism. During the years between 1902 and 1919, the unifying impulses present in liberal Protestantism and traditional Quaker beliefs worked together within Orthodox Quakerism to create an American Christian denomination which was not entirely absorbed by the Protestant mainstream and yet was not excluded by its boundaries. Along with Hamm, my work will show that American Quakerism definitely moved away from a sectarian mode during the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, but I will also provide evidence to show that concluding that this transformation turned Orthodox Quakerism into an evangelical Protestant denomination obscures a complex and important transition in the history of American religion.

## Chapter 1: The Sign of the Cross

Quakers first began proselytizing in the American colonies in the mid-seventeenth century. Within a year of their arrival in the Massachusetts Bay Colony, the Puritans there had begun an official persecution of the "cursed sect of heretics." That other Protestant groups also considered Quaker beliefs and practices to be heretical is clear because the established Protestant denominations in all of the colonies in eighteenth and early nineteenth century America found the Friends to be a peculiar and separate sect.

It is important to keep the distinction between sect and denomination in mind since the tension that exists between the two is an important element in understanding the evolution of American Quakerism.[7] The same tension exists between the individual and society. In this analogy Quakers, who never abandoned their defining doctrine of the Inner Light of Christ that is present in every man and woman, begin as the rebellious individual who renounces the arbitrary limitations and regulations imposed by society, or the Anglican Church. But by the dawn of the twentieth

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[7]According to Robert Doherty, a sect is distinguished from a denomination by its exclusivity, loose organization, and the sharp distinction that it makes between its members and the larger society surrounding it.

century, the once rebellious youth sees a society that is finally ready to abandon its arbitrary structure and embrace a more egalitarian, more spiritual, more Quaker path.

Whether or not Puritanism would have been considered a sectarian form of Anglicanism in England, it quickly assumed denominational form in the new world and eventually developed into two slightly alternative denominations known as the Congregationalist and Presbyterian Churches. These were complex religious and political institutions with developed hierarchies and clear systems of beliefs. Far from separating from the world, New England Puritans sought to restructure society according to their own religious vision. Church officials were responsible for ensuring that all citizens in Puritan districts professed orthodox beliefs. They were also charged with ensuring that members' public behavior conformed to Puritan standards of virtue and decency. In colonial America, the Puritans created the most extreme ecclesiastical bodies with regard to prescribing rigid belief systems and patterns of behavior.[8] However, the central features of their complex institutions--replete with a hierarchy of church officials, a clearly articulated

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[8]From the standpoint of belief, the banishment of Roger Williams and Anne Hutchinson are good illustrations. On the other end of the scale, the Baptist denomination practiced complete toleration of all who believed in Christ. The established Anglican denomination in the southern colonies represented the middle ground between these two extremes.

system of beliefs, and a method of restricting membership to "orthodox" believers--were shared by all denominations.

As opposed to the Puritans, the Friends came to the new world with a vision of a personal, spiritual, and mystical religion that defied institutionalization.[9] Whether or not their vision entailed a separation from society as a whole, it clearly involved a separation from any institution, religious or secular, that sought to compel individuals to believe or act according to anything other than the "Inner Light of Christ." A form of practical mysticism, Quakerism involved staying in touch with the "Inner Light" which led to "Quietism" on the one hand and a zealous commitment to social reform on the other.[10]

By the early nineteenth century, Quakers had established Yearly Meetings in all areas of the country.

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[9]Hugh Barbour and J. William Frost, *The Quakers* (New York: Greenwood Press, 1988); Peter Brock, *The Quaker Peace Testimony 1660-1914* (York, England: Sessions Book Trust, 1990); Melvin B. Endy Jr., "The Society of Friends," *Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience*, ed. by Peter Williams and Charles Lippy, 3 vols. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1988) I: 595-613; Elbert Russell, *The History of Quakerism* (New York: MacMillan Co., 1942).

[10]The Friends' search for balance between a withdrawn "Quietism" and an activist commitment to social reform is described in Endy's entry on Quakerism in *The Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience.* Quietism led to the image of Friends as reclusive individuals who dressed and spoke differently from everyone else. Social activism led to the image of Quakers as social activists at the forefront of such movements as penal reform and abolitionism.

Though these organizations dealt with issues important to all Quakers, they could only offer advice and could never compel the various Monthly Meetings under their "jurisdictions" to prescribe beliefs or behaviors to their members. Though the beliefs of many American Quakers were coming more and more to resemble those of conventional Protestants by the early nineteenth century, the Society of Friends had by and large resisted attempts to institutionalize the spiritual gifts of its individual members by submitting them to a formalized belief system or a hierarchical church structure.

The Society of Friends in the United States divided into two main parties after 1827. Led respectively by Elias Hicks and Joseph John Gurney, the two main parties represented the traditionally separatist and the evangelical wings of American Quakerism. A smaller group, separatist but more theologically and socially conservative than the "Hicksites," followed John Wilbur.

Hicks and his followers retained the quietist and the sectarian patterns that had characterized Quakerism in the eighteenth century. Because Hicks did not win many followers in the South or the Midwest, and because conservative Quakers represented such a small minority in every area of the country except Philadelphia, within America the so-called Hicksite groups were in the minority.

Groups of followers of Joseph John Gurney were in the majority. Rejecting the Hicksites' separatism with regard to the larger Protestant world, these "Gurneyites," allied themselves with evangelical Protestants. A conservative minority was present within many of the "Gurneyite" Yearly Meetings, many of whom were followers of John Wilbur. The "Wilburites" resisted the conflation of Quakerism and evangelical Protestantism but found that the theology of the Hicksites was too liberal in doctrinal and social matters. Conservatives controlled Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, but the Hicksites and Wilburites together remained in the minority throughout the rest of the nation.

The Gurneyite Quakers believed that their form of Quakerism, which combined evangelical Protestantism with distinctive Quaker doctrines and practices, was compatible with "orthodox Christianity." Therefore, Gurneyites began to call their Yearly Meetings the Orthodox Society of Friends in America. It is this body which is the focus of this study.

A series of dynamic revivals swept across the nation during the 1830s. So compelling that they are known to historians as the Second Great Awakening, these revivals were mainly led by Charles Grandison Finney. One of the enduring fruits of the revivals was the development of a Holiness approach to religious faith and practice. A

synthesis of Finney's revivalism and the efforts of many American Methodists who wanted to revive John Wesley's doctrine of Christian perfection, Holiness became a powerful interdenominational movement which swept through the country in the 1830s and 1840s.

Holiness preachers employed the Wesleyan concepts of justification, sanctification, and entire sanctification when describing the path to salvation and the pursuit and attainment of a perfect Christian life. In this model, justification is seen as the point of departure. Sinners are justified when they realize their wickedness and beg God for forgiveness. Once pardoned and accepted by God, or "justified," a gradual process of sanctification begins. The moment of sanctification is the moment of rebirth in which the sinner for the first time can imagine a life without sin. However, since the sinner's depravity has been so profound for so long, attaining this imagined state takes a long time. The end of this process is the instantaneous experience of entire sanctification, or complete Christian perfection in which sinners are washed clean, becoming completely dead to sin. Whether long-time church members or new converts, sinners undergoing entire sanctification experience rebirth; they are "born again."[11]

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[11]Jean Miller Schmidt, "Holiness and Perfection," *The Encyclopedia of the American Religious Experience*, vol. II:

In the 1870s, a Holiness revival challenged traditional Quaker beliefs among the Gurneyites.[12] The impetus for and response to this revival created an authority crisis within the Quaker community. In the Holiness model, the Christian subject is originally in an utterly depraved state. He is so consumed by sin that he cannot possibly save himself. One of the functions of revivalists preachers was to show people the depths of their depravity and thereby persuade them to "turn to Christ." By taking responsibility for conversion upon themselves, Holiness preachers undermined the traditional Quaker system in which the individual was to search for the Inner Light within him or herself. Once an individual Friend had tapped this spiritual source, that person, regardless of who they were, was free to stand and share his or her discoveries with the rest of the meeting.

The revival also generated an identity crisis by altering the way in which these Friends identified themselves to each other and to the world. Holiness

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813-829. The Holiness movement began as a reforming force within the Methodist church. It spread through most of the Protestant churches in America in the mid-nineteenth century and urged those more secular bodies to move in a less worldly, more religious direction. However, by the 1870s many Holiness leaders were no longer willing to compromise with "modern" Protestantism and the movement began to take on a sectarian identity of its own.

[12]The split that developed within Quakerism as a result of the Holiness revival of the 1870s parallels the general separation of Holiness groups from their respective

preachers renounced the traditional Quaker practices of speaking plainly and dressing simply as "dead works." They also challenged Quaker proscriptions against marriage outside the Society and the "outward sacraments" of baptism and communion.

Although not immediately recognized as hazardous to Quaker identity and to the authority structure in the Orthodox Society of Friends, prominent Gurneyites in the Indiana and Philadelphia Yearly Meetings eventually responded to the Holiness challenge. Concluding that the situation was urgent, they called for a conference of delegates from all Orthodox Yearly Meetings to be held in Richmond, Indiana in 1887.

Historians point to many influences that spurred the Holiness controversy and its aftermath. Before the revival, Gurneyite Quakers were a readily identifiable group. They wore plain clothing and used "thee" and "thou" when they spoke. They met in simple unadorned "meeting houses" where they conducted silent meetings for worship at which anyone who felt moved by the "inward Christ" could speak. There was no music or singing in their meetings. As Quakers always had, these Friends understood the Quaker way to be different from that of other Christians: it was the way of patient waiting for the inner light, the seed of Christ that

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denominations during the same period.

they believed was present in the heart of every man and woman to make its presence fully known. No Friend was more important than another in terms of this Inner Light, and silent contemplation was the way that each became aware of its presence.[13]

The only authority figures in the group were "ministers," "elders," and "overseers." Elders and overseers were "weighty Friends" who were nominated and approved by the Monthly Meeting to oversee the lives of the members. If a member demonstrated a gift in speaking at meeting, the elders encouraged him or her to cultivate his or her gift. A minister was simply a man or woman whose gift had been recorded by the Quarterly Meeting.

In his study of the Gurneyites or the Orthodox Friends, Hamm identifies three central elements of the Holiness critique of traditional Quakerism: 1) Holiness Quakers stressed the importance of sanctification and justification as instantaneous acts of faith, 2) they rejected the belief in silent waiting for the presence of the Inner Light to reveal itself on the grounds that second-experience sanctification meant that the Holy Ghost was immediately and permanently present within the believer, and 3) they

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[13]Barbour, p. 214.

dismissed the plain life, claiming that wearing simple clothes and holding to forms of speech fell into the category of "dead works" from which salvation had freed them.

The Holiness revival also introduced a new Christology into Quakerism. Up to this point, Quakers had rejected the notion that the true Christ was some transcendent body existing in some otherworldy place, believing instead that measures of his spirit were present within every man and woman. This equation of Christ and humanity would have been blasphemous to converts to Holiness theology because they believed that Christ existed only in the heavenly realm and that he remained utterly alien to all individuals who had not experienced sanctification. This is to say, where Quakerism had always been a form of Christianity based on direct personal experience of Christ, Holiness theology demanded some sort of mediation between the believer and the object of belief. For Quakers, Christ's spirit was meted out once and for all at his death, and every human being has been, is, and will be allotted an equal portion of it. It is the responsibility of the individual to seek out his or her share of spirit through quiet and focused prayer and meditation and a quiet and focused life. On the other hand, converts to Holiness believed that Christ ascended into heaven after his death, where he continues to reside along

with the Father and the Holy Spirit. The Holy Spirit is not meted out equally or automatically but only enters into those who have been prepared through a conversion experience, and only a Holiness minister can tell whether or not a person has been converted.

These Holiness critiques represent a break from the traditional way of understanding Quakerism as a unique expression of Christianity. As Hamm puts it, "Revivalists had little use for the idea of Friends as a peculiar people, separate from other believers." The outward cross had supplanted the inward cross, and all traditions that served to separate Quakers from the larger body of evangelical Christians were regarded as barriers to salvation.[14]

By the mid-1870s, revivalism had taken hold in all of the Gurneyite Yearly Meetings, and leaders started taking steps to institutionalize Holiness beliefs. The identifying beliefs, rituals, and practices of the Society of Friends were set forth in compilations of belief statements and rules of behavior which were called "disciplines." In the

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[14]Hamm, 85-86. In Holiness teaching, sanctification was a second definite experience that happened after conversion to Christ and was essential to salvation. It was an emotional, immediate experience engendered by enthusiastic preaching. The traditional Quaker belief, by contrast, was that each person achieved salvation through a slow process of becoming aware his or her direct connection with God/Jesus. Since this path made them unnecessary, it is easy to see why Holiness ministers opposed traditional Quakerism.

respective Yearly Meetings, elders and overseers were responsible for enforcing the disciplines. The pattern of distinctive Quaker behavior prescribed in these disciplines reflected long-standing Quaker practice. As their belief system changed during the revivals, traditional Quaker patterns of behavior became less important to the Friends who embraced Holiness. After 1874, Gurneyite Yearly Meetings began writing new disciplines that weakened the importance of traditional Quaker behavior. Rules regarding speech and dress and marriage regulations were dropped and the sections on doctrine were enlarged to include Holiness beliefs.[15]

These new disciplines signaled an important shift of authority within the Gurneyite Society. The elders had traditionally been responsible for enforcing the discipline, which basically meant making sure that members complied with its behavioral rules and regulations, while ministers were seen as spiritual leaders and religious counselors. Doctrinal questions had been relatively unimportant in a world where Quakers and non-Quakers were easily

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[15]Traditionally, individual Friends who did not keep the discipline were officially disowned. Many revivalists felt that strict enforcement of the discipline, particularly the proscription against marrying outside the Society, placed a barrier between Quakers and evangelical Christianity and thus barred the true way to salvation. See Hamm, p. 91; Barbour, p. 214.

differentiated. If you were a Quaker it was assumed that you believed like a Quaker, accepting the presence of the inward Christ in every individual; the important issue had been whether you looked and acted like a Quaker.

The Holiness movement blurred the clear line between the Quaker and the non-Quaker worlds by at once stressing the priority for Friends of membership in the evangelical Christian community and questioning the importance of traditional Quaker behavior for salvation. Quaker leaders who had been converted to Holiness claimed that they must identify themselves within the larger community of evangelical Christians, and this meant that behavior was secondary to belief in the Holiness doctrine of salvation, a doctrine based on the belief that Christ was fundamentally different from humanity and had no immanent, only transcendent, existence and reality. That left Quakers with a problem. How were they to identify themselves if not through their peculiar appearance and behavior, which was traditionally seen as the manifestation of their belief in the inward Christ?

The shift from behavior to belief as the criterion of Quaker identification led to a shift of power from the elders to the ministers. The elders were the "weighty Friends" who knew the Quaker customs and traditions better than anyone else. The ministers had always been the

meetings' spiritual leaders, but their influence was limited because their positions were unofficial. With the Holiness revival, the role of the minister began to change. Since Christ was no longer believed to be immediately present in every individual, Holiness ministers saw that individual Friends needed to be shown the true, external Christ. Where they had formerly been spiritual guides to groups of believers who possessed the ability to save themselves, Quaker ministers began to take on a quasi-mediational role that closely paralleled the role of other Protestant ministers in spirit and ritual. Since the traditional "simple life" was no longer seen as the true path to awareness of the Inner Light, meetings needed spiritual leaders to ensure that members were truly saved.[16]

In its early stages, the Holiness message was carried to the various Yearly Meetings by groups of itinerant ministers. They came into local meetings throughout the country conducting revivals that often lasted days or even weeks. In these revivals, Holiness preachers converted hundreds of Quakers to a new understanding of Christ and people who were not already Friends to this new Quakerism. When the preachers left, the converts were left in meetings that had no real spiritual direction. Their ministers were

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[16]Hamm, p. 91.

full-time farmers who were not trained in Holiness doctrine and did not have the time nor the means to preach the message of conversion and second-experience sanctification. Moreover, the revivals brought hundreds of new members into the Society, most of whom knew nothing about traditional Quaker worship. The practice of silent waiting was utterly foreign to these new converts, and newly revived meetings often became unruly with their hymn singing and personal confessions. To the dismay of many older and more conservative Friends, revival methods quickly penetrated all of the Gurneyite Yearly Meetings. By the late-1870s, the revival had grown so strong within Gurneyite Quakerism that those Friends who opposed its methods were confronted with the choice of confessing salvation or separating from the Society.[17]

Some of them chose the latter. A group of Friends withdrew from Western Yearly Meeting and formed the Western Yearly Meeting of Conservative Friends in 1877. They were soon joined by a small group from Indiana Yearly Meeting, and, in the early 1880s, Conservative Friends in Iowa and Kansas separated from the Orthodox body. The meetings of this schismatic group were led by elders and conservative ministers who had opposed the revival from the start but had

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[17]Hamm, p. 92.

held out hope that it would burn itself out.

Conservative Friends separated themselves from Holiness Friends on the basis of opposition to new worship practices; they were against mourner's benches, sanctification altars, and outward consecrations. Claiming to represent the "ancient type of Quakerism", these Western Friends stressed the "necessity of inward experience." They were reluctant to make changes to the old disciplines, eschewed public schools in favor of meeting schools and Quaker boarding schools, and took the plain life to extremes. In the Midwest, Conservative Yearly Meetings soon aligned with the Ohio and New England Wilburite Yearly Meetings, but their memberships were very small and disproportionately elderly. Within their first two decades, Conservative Meetings in the Midwest experienced large losses in membership through death and they also lost members unwilling to adhere strictly to the discipline. But most Conservative Friends were not concerned that they were not winning converts or increasing their influence within American Quakerism. They saw themselves as the sole witnesses to the real Quaker truth and were content to live out their days in the traditional Quaker way.[18]

A majority of the Gurneyites had welcomed the revival

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[18]Hamm, pp. 99-102.

and actively participated in its early stages. With the reality of the Hicksite and Wilburite separations still fresh in their minds, however, those who later opposed the revival chose not to separate from the Society. This "middle party" as it came to be known was represented in Western Yearly Meeting by Barnabas C. Hobbs and in Indiana Yearly Meeting by Charles and Rhoda Coffin, Timothy Nicholson, and Eli and Mahal Jay. These leaders never openly criticized the revival--indeed they had no objections to "orderly" revivals--and they accepted converts willing to be schooled in Quaker practices after joining. They also accepted singing in meeting provided it was "done in the spirit." But the members of the "middle party" were suspicious of the arrogance they saw in the revival ministry and they broke with the revival when its ministers began to preach second-experience sanctification .[19]

As it turned out--and as might have been expected--the revivalists were strengthened by the Conservative separation's failure to loosen the Holiness grip on the Gurneyite Society. In the 1880s, revivalist Friends continued their move away from traditional Quakerism,

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[19]Barnabbas C. Hobbs, the only influential moderate in Western Yearly Meeting, tried to use his influence as clerk to stop the Conservative split in 1877. At that time, he was a resident minister in Indianapolis Monthly Meeting. The importance of this early moderate influence in Indianapolis is explained below.

insisting on locating Friends firmly within the larger Holiness movement. To this end, they espoused the "Four-Fold Gospel" of faith healing, pre-millenialism, justification, and sanctification.[20] They also opposed the evils of higher criticism, evolution theory, sectarianism, and apathy. To increase their hold on the Society, a group of leading revivalists purchased the *Christian Worker* in 1883, moving it from New Vienna, Ohio to Chicago. This journal had been started as a revivalist instrument in 1871, but had, the purchasers felt, been wavering on important Holiness subjects since the late-1870s. The new owners chose Calvin W. Pritchard, a leading Holiness minister, to be editor and he left no room for uncertainty about where the journal stood, reorganizing it under the motto, "First a Christian, second a Friend." The new *Christian Worker* became an effective mouthpiece for the revival party, advocating a "thoroughgoing revival platform that included preaching, singing, vocal prayer, altar calls, and mourner's benches." It was an uncompromising defender of "'scriptural

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[20]Pre-millennialism is the belief, associated with Holiness people, that the world is utterly depraved and will only grow more wicked until Christ comes again at the end of time. Modernist Christians, on the other hand, developed the post-millennial view that Christ has already come and that the world, as the arena of his grace and activity, is perfectible through Christian endeavor. With its focus on the Inner Light of Christ that is immediately present within each individual human at birth, traditional Quakerism is decidedly post-millennial.

Holiness'--instantaneous, second-experience sanctification--and an enemy of Unitarianism, infidelity, sectarianism, and traditional Quakerism."[21]

Of the revivalists' doctrines, the two that had the greatest impact on the future of the Gurneyite Society were non-denominationalism and pre-millennialism. The de-emphasis of Quaker peculiarity that was part of the Holiness program went such a long way toward tearing down the wall of separation between Friends and mainline Protestants in America that it has never been reconstructed in the old way. In time, Friends who were influenced by liberal Protestantism in the late nineteenth century would gain control of the Gurneyite Society in the twentieth century. But, as will be seen, even as these Quaker "modernists" began to stress a return to traditional Quaker worship and ideals, they did so with an understanding of Quakerism as a Protestant denomination that did not differ fundamentally in belief from evangelical Christianity. However, as will also be seen, they believed that they did not need to rebuild the wall because evangelical Christianity was becoming more like Quakerism not because Quakerism had blended into evangelical Christianity.

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[21]Hamm, pp. 102-103.

Yet their renewed emphasis on traditional Quakerism set the moderates apart from the revivalists whose acceptance of pre-millennialism had initiated a move away from beliefs about society and social reform with which Friends had been identified historically. Holiness Friends believed that the world was inherently bad and would only get worse before the millennium. Therefore they saw no reason for encouraging social reform or stressing humanitarian beliefs such as the peace testimony. Since they believed that war, along with all other social evils, would be eradicated at the millennium, they were convinced that it did not matter whether or not the sanctified chose to fight. Once in the ascendant, the modernists would continue the revival's non-denominationalism, but they rejected pre-millennialism. Adopting a post-millennial theology instead, they directed much of the Gurneyite Society's time and money into education and social reform movements.[22]

Before the development of this modernist movement, a centrist or "middle party" had represented a certain resistance to Holiness theology within Gurneyite Quakerism. Only in the Baltimore Yearly Meeting were they in the majority, in all the other Yearly Meetings, centrists were a

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[22]This account of the struggle between the revivalists and the modernists within Gurneyite Quakerism is heavily indebted to Hamm's study.

minority. Yet they had an influence that was out of proportion to their numbers. While not in agreement as to how to deal with the Holiness intrusion, they managed to present a united opposition to what they saw as extreme, "un-Quaker" elements of the revival. Mainly they did this through the *Friends' Review*, the Philadelphia-based voice of the middle party that had a significant readership in many of the Gurneyite Yearly Meetings, particularly Indiana.

If the revival failed to win over all Gurneyite Friends between 1880 and 1895, it succeeded in bringing the Gurneyite Society into a state of connection with the larger religious culture that could not be reversed. It also initiated a struggle within the Gurneyite Society over who would control the destiny of American Quakerism. Moderate Gurneyites, being the inheritors of Quakerism's mid-nineteenth century emphasis on social reform, were happy enough to have easier access to the larger American society. Thus the struggle was not over how Quakers should relate to the outside world, but how Friends would operate their Society within it.

Looking back, it is easy to see that Gurneyite Quakerism was experiencing an identity crisis. As the contending parties prepared to defend their ideas about how a Christian denomination was supposed to work and where Quakerism fit into the evangelical picture, they were

obviously struggling with what being a Friend really meant. The battle lines were drawn over three internal issues: the doctrine of the Inner Light; the nature of the Quaker ministry; and the spirituality of the ordinances. All three issues are connected to questions of authority. Holiness Friends insisted that only the sanctified could hold positions of authority in the church, for example. The doctrine of the Inner Light was unacceptable to them because it blurred the line between the sanctified and the unsanctified. Believing that there was no such thing as inward salvation, they said that the spirit of Christ was not innately present in a person's soul but only entered there after the experience of sanctification. The sign of the cross was not to be discovered within the individual but brought to him or her by the Holiness preacher.

In the 1880s, when droves of converts from outside the Society were brought into Quaker meetings, Holiness Friends were not willing to have them sit in silence and wait for a presence that they didn't believe existed. They maintained that the Gospel and the message of sanctification needed to be preached to these new converts, as well as to old Friends. Pastoral committees made up of ministers, elders, and overseers were instituted to ensure that meetings were receiving good preaching, a practice that proved to be merely a transitional stage in the development of a one-

person pastoral system. By the late 1880s, many of the Gurneyite Monthly Meetings in Indiana and Western Yearly Meetings had full-time, paid pastors, and the position of pastor began to take on an official form and function. Rather than the long-standing pattern of silent worship, these congregations expected a programmed worship that included a lengthy sermon by the pastor with the remainder of the time spent in hymn singing and vocal prayer.[23]

On practical as well as doctrinal grounds, the moderates in the Gurneyite Yearly Meetings were outmatched on the issues of the Inner Light and the changing role of the minister. Since the idea of a fundamental connection between a person's soul and God would have been a contradiction to a non-Quaker converted in a Holiness revival, moderates would have been hard pressed to win these converts to their cause. Moderates feared the one-person pastoral system because of the spiritual privilege and authority it gave to individual Friends. But in revived meetings they were too few in number to prevent it.

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[23]This account of the development of the pastoral system shows the problem of authority in traditional meetings. When the problem of familiarizing new converts with the Quaker form of worship arose, Hamm notes that, "In theory it was the duty of the entire meeting to help them to understand Quaker beliefs, but in practice what was everyone's business was no one's, and many converts drifted away." (125) Through the revival's focus on preaching, the role of the Quaker minister took on an official, authoritative function for the first time.

Fortunately for the moderates, however, at the height of their influence in the Gurneyite Yearly Meetings, the Holiness party split over the issue of ordinances. From the very beginning of the Holiness revival, many Friends had felt the need to take communion or be baptized with water at camp meetings or other Holiness/evangelical venues. The Yearly Meetings did not condemn these practices for members, but they did condemn them for ministers. Unwilling to accept this condemnation, leading Holiness ministers from Ohio Yearly Meeting defended the ordinances on biblical grounds and claimed that Friends should tolerate ministers who felt compelled to be baptized or take communion.

Leading moderates who had been waiting for the Holiness tide to turn were able to turn this situation to their advantage. They stood united against toleration, but the issue split the Holiness party. Controversy over this issue resulted in the calling of a conference of all Gurneyite Yearly Meetings to be held in Richmond, Indiana in 1887. This landmark meeting, known as the Richmond Conference, would be the fore-runner of the Five Years Meeting. Anti-toleration sentiment was strong enough in all the yearly meetings except Ohio to prevent the delegates from even discussing the ordinances. Instead, the Conference was "the scene of wide ranging debate on the mission of the society, the nature of worship, and the proper place and function of

the ministry."

There was profound disagreement between the delegates, but the pervading sentiment was a desire to "prevent the tendency towards the disintegration of the society." To this end, the delegates appointed a committee to prepare a Declaration of Faith that all Gurneyite Friends would recognize. This document, known as the Richmond Declaration, represented a compromise between the two parties. Its doctrinal statements are evangelical, but the statements on ordinances, worship, ministry and sanctification represent moderate views.

The Richmond Declaration formalized the connection between Gurneyite Quakerism and evangelical Christianity, and in this respect it is often regarded as the ultimate achievement of the revival.[24] But it also served to open Quakerism to the influence of modernist Protestantism in the 1890s and early decades of the twentieth century.[25] As the

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[24]Barbour, pp. 214-215; Hamm, pp. 137-139. The Richmond Declaration was written primarily by English Friend Joseph Bevan Braithwaite. Braithwaite was one of the early Quaker modernists in England and would later greatly influence leading American modernists Rufus Jones and Elbert Russell.

[25]Hamm cites William R. Hutchison's *The Modernist Impulse in American Protestantism* in the beginning of his account of the rise of Quaker modernism. He stresses the importance of the three claims of modernist Protestantism; that religion must be adapted to modern culture, that God is immanent and is revealed through culture, and that the human race is progressively moving towards the realization of God's kingdom

modernist outlook took hold in the larger Protestant world, Holiness Christians were increasingly marginalized. Eventually their zealous commitment to their seemingly outdated beliefs resulted in the very type of sectarian behavior for which they had renounced traditional Quakerism. Just as they had seen signs that the Holiness movement might eclipse Quakerism altogether, Moderate Quaker now leaders saw in modernism signs that the Protestant world was opening itself up to Quakerism for the first time.

The result was that modernist Quakerism combined the religious and sociological outlook of modernist Protestantism with a belief in the importance of Quaker history and traditions and a renewed emphasis on the Inner Light. This form of Quakerism built on the Friends' reform tradition by stressing political reform and the tenets of the social gospel.

Three individuals emerged as the clear voices of modernist Quakerism in the late 1890s; Mary Mendenhall Hobbs at Guilford College in North Carolina, Rufus Jones at Haverford College in Philadelphia, and Elbert Russell at Earlham College in Richmond, Indiana. These individuals would come to the fore with the establishment of the Five

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on earth, to understanding Quaker modernism. These claims reveal a move toward the larger American culture, but toward a very different segment of that culture than the Holiness Friends sought.

Years Meeting, a national Quaker legislative body, in 1902. Hobbs was a leading figure in Quaker higher education, but she was not an active writer or speaker and was the least influential of the modernist triumvirate in terms of national exposure. Of the three, Rufus Jones was the most influential. It was his vision of a united Quakerism based on a spiritual, mystical, experiential religion and the reform tenets of the social gospel that inspired the creation of the Uniform Discipline and the establishment of the Five Years Meeting. Jones' personal charm and the spiritual strength of his religious message endeared him to modernist and Holiness Friends alike.

Less popular, but more important to this study, was Elbert Russell who, after 1900, was recognized as the authority on the Bible among leading Quaker modernists. He used his position as Head of the Biblical Department at Earlham to "acquaint Friends with the Bible's progressive revelation and to bring within their purview the findings of modern scholarship on the dating and composition of the Scriptures." Yet his aggressive opposition to biblical fundamentalism prevented him from ever gaining a position of power in the Five Years Meeting. In addition, he lacked Jones' ability to touch Friends' souls across party lines.

Of these three leaders, Russell is more important to this study because of his connection with First Friends in

Indianapolis. From the time of the first gathering of the Five Years Meeting in Indianapolis in 1902 to his departure from Earlham in 1915, Russell made regular appearances at First Friends Church and Indianapolis Monthly Meeting as a preacher and a lecturer.

The Richmond Conference was followed by Quinquennial Conferences in 1892 and 1897, both of which were held at First Friends Church in Indianapolis. All the Gurneyite Yearly Meetings except Ohio participated in these gatherings. By 1897, with the additions of Oregon and California Yearly meetings, the Conference included delegates from eleven different Yearly Meetings.[26]

The titles of two of the first three papers read to these delegates expressed the central issues; "Shall the Conference be Legislative," by Rufus Jones and, "A Uniform Discipline for the Yearly Meetings," by Edmund Stanley.[27] Jones' paper sketched an organizational structure for the society based on his spiritual beliefs. He was convinced that the gaps in Christ's church are not of his design, that

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[26]The eleven meetings represented in 1897 were Indiana, Ohio, Western, Iowa, California, North Carolina, Oregon, Kansas, New England, Baltimore, and New York.

[27]*Proceedings of the Conference of Friends of America Held in Indianapolis, Indiana 1897* (Philadelphia: The American Friend, 1898) p. 2. Excerpts from the papers, which appear in full pages 109-118 and 127-137 of the *Proceedings*, were published in the *American Friend* in October 1897.

the true Church was an organism of the spirit not of the flesh. He stated that,

> the step which lies immediately before us at the present moment is one in the direction of perfecting and unifying the particular body of which we are members, and this may eventually prove to have no slight influence in hastening the realization of that greater organism, the one fold with the one shepherd.

This new unity, however, must still take into account the fundamental worth of each member. Jones stressed individual freedom as well as the unity of believers, holding that any Quaker (or Christian) organization must maintain the fullest personal freedom and responsibility and provide a clear and powerful message while working to accomplish a divine purpose. He goes on to translate this idea into Quaker language:

> I want to belong to a body which not only has a history, but which has a definite, positive present existence, which is known and felt, and which is prophetic of a future...We cannot have a bishopric, because none of us believe in a historic succession from apostolic days by which the apostolic gifts have come down to us through the laying on of hands. We cannot have a hierarchy of any kind, for we know that every man who is transformed by the living Christ is by this royal heirship a king and a priest unto God, and we know that the Pentecostal power fell on the unofficial Christians as well as on Peter and the other apostles, therefore our organization must always be one which recognizes the authority of spiritual power wherever it appears, whether in the so-called head of a meeting or in the simplest member. We must avoid everything which approaches an

> oligarchy--the rule of a few--or the dominance of any irresponsible head. Our system is fundamentally democratic and secondarily representative.

What Jones wanted was an organizational structure that would enable Quakers in all American yearly meetings to speak to the national issues important to each with a united voice.[28] He also clearly envisioned a larger Christendom that was ready and willing to listen.

As he saw it in 1897, the Society of Friends was so disorganized that it could not even be considered a denomination. In proposing a legislative body--when this paper was reprinted in the *American Friend* it was called, "Shall There Be a Central Body?"--Jones intended to extend the scope of Quakerism by enabling its entire constituency to address issues within the larger Christian Church and society as a whole. The purpose he outlined was not the creation of an authoritative body but the development of an organizational structure through which Quakerism could be efficiently and powerfully channeled into the world. This united, influential Quakerism was impossible in 1897, he said, because, "all the yearly meetings are at the mercy of each particular one, and the whole basis of faith and practice may be changed completely in one while all the

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[28] *Proceedings 1897*, pp. 108-119.

others look helplessly on and merely send epistles of advice." In other words, what Quakerism needed to make Jones' organizational framework possible was a uniform discipline.[29]

Edmund Stanley began his paper with an explication of the history of the term "discipline" among Friends. He noted that early Quakers displayed tendencies to both exercise authority on issues of belief and behavior and accept direction from recognized authorities. He brought this analysis to bear on the issue at hand by stating that "there is abundant proof of the early recognition of an authoritative body in the church; and numerous are the incidents of recent times that go to prove the need of such authority now, that we may have a more perfect organization." Stanley's argument reflected the problems that a mobile population and a national culture presented to Quakerism at the end of the nineteenth century. With eleven separate Gurneyite disciplines in effect in different parts of the country, "an individual may be a member in good standing in the church and, through the common courtesy of the yearly meetings, he may have his right of membership transferred to another meeting, and then find himself subject to rules of discipline that would require his

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[29]Rufus M. Jones, "Shall There Be a Central Body?," *The American Friend* 4 (October 1897) p. 1007.

disownment." Like Jones, Stanley wanted a Quakerism that would speak with a united voice and offer a clear, powerful message to the world, and he believed that the adoption of a uniform discipline was the best way to begin the process of making the society "a Church organization that we can recommend to the world."[30]

These papers were the highlights of the 1897 Conference. In reference to Jones' paper, one delegate stood up and said, "it seems to me that this is the essential question this conference has come together to discuss. Everything else is subordinate to it...if we were to spend to-day and to-morrow on this question, we should not have taken more than its importance demands."

The question of an authoritative judicatory body and a uniform discipline both aroused intense debate. Friends who approved of them believed that such a delegated body would bring together the wisest and most pious Friends and that delegating authority had always been a vital part of all Quaker organizations. Dissenters believed that a uniform discipline would promote discord and they feared that a legislative body would represent a move away from democracy toward centralized power. There was no clear majority of supporters or detractors, and many of the delegates

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[30]*Proceedings 1897*, 127-137; Edmund Stanley, "A Uniform Discipline," *The American Friend* 4 (October 1897) p. 1034.

straddled the fence by opposing a strong centralized power while affirming the need for an organization for transacting church affairs within well-defined limits. The question of authority kept the debate alive for some time, but once it was made clear to all of the delegates that the legislative body in question would have no authority to take any actions without the consent of the Yearly Meetings and that it would not infringe upon their autonomy, the delegates approved both proposals and named a committee to draft a uniform discipline. When the conference adjourned the delegates agreed to meet again at Indianapolis in 1902 for the first session of what they called the Five Years Meeting.[31]

The Five Years Meeting, now called Friends United Meeting, was, and is, a very complex body. Its purpose was to provide a medium through which Quakerism could express a distinct and powerful message, but individual Friends and entire Yearly Meetings within its domain differed sharply as to what that message should be even after the adoption of the uniform discipline. As a result, according to Hamm:

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[31] *Proceedings 1897*, 122; "The Indianapolis Conference," *The American Friend* 4 (October 1897) pp. 1034-1035. It was former First Friends' resident minister and President of Earlham College Joseph John Mills who stood up and made the statement about the importance of Jones' paper. Given his prior influential position in Indianapolis, Mills' support of Jones' paper and the Five Years Meeting is one factor that helps explain First Friends' receptivity to centralization and modernist views in the 1900s.

> The effects of the movement toward centralization are difficult to assess. Many Friends hoped that the Five Years Meeting would be a stabilizing influence, allowing the weight of the whole body of Friends to come to bear on deviations. Instead, it probably exacerbated tensions. Not only did it bring together parties with fundamentally different points of view, but it also produced another set of institutions over which they battled for control.[32]

Rather than assessing the effectiveness of the Five Years Meeting as a whole, the aim of this paper is to analyze the way in which it affected Quakerism in terms of the sect/denomination model and the traditional Quaker testimony against war. To that end only those elements of the history of the Five Years Meeting that concern these issues will be examined.[33]

The first and most important thing that the Five Years Meeting did was to adopt and endorse the uniform discipline.

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[32]Hamm, p.146.

[33]The Five Years Meetings' definition of the term "denomination" was carefully worded so as not to offend individual Friends. This was a difficult task. On one end of the spectrum, the Meeting represented Friends who held rigidly "orthodox" Holiness beliefs. On the other end, it represented Friends who clung to the more liberal "ancient Quakerism" that focused on individualism, social reform, and the Inner Light. As a result, the Meeting's definition of the term establishes a loose confederation of individuals who hold some very general Christian beliefs in common. It does not establish a church hierarchy or create an effective, centrally governed institution. In keeping with the Quaker custom, this new "denomination" would suggest that individual Friends come together on doctrinal issues rather than compel them to do so.

This document presented a clear definition of Quakerism and prescribed procedures for church operations at every level. It left no question as to where Quakers stood in relation to the larger body of Christians,

> A Christian denomination is an organization composed of those who hold similar views of the teachings of the Holy Scriptures, and maintain certain practices based upon these teachings, and who voluntarily associate themselves for joint participation in worship, for fellowship and mutual help, and for united effort in the promotion of truth and righteousness. The denomination of The Friends is such a Christian body.

It is important to note that the general terminology used here. It was not the revival's conflation of evangelical Quakerism and evangelical Christianity that the moderates rejected, it was the specific Holiness doctrines that would have required them to abandon their unique beliefs. Within the framework of modernism, believing in Jesus and working for the good of mankind combined to lay a sufficient dogmatic cornerstone for any Christian denomination. Since this liberal interpretation is much more Quaker than its Holiness counterpart, it is easy to see how modernists were able to effect a return to their religious roots (which were decidedly sectarian) and a denominational move into the Protestant world at the same time.

In the section on Friends' belief, the uniform

discipline states that, "the Friends believe war to be incompatible with Christianity, and seek to promote peaceful methods for the settlement of all differences between nations and between men." Consequently, if the discipline failed definitively to set Quakers apart from society, the peace testimony was clearly preserved as a belief that distinguished and identified them as a Christian denomination.[34]

It is important to note the first part of the uniform discipline, titled "The Church and its Denominations," begins with a definition of the "Church of Jesus Christ" in section one and then defines denominations, including Quakerism, in section two. Along with the peace testimony, the traditional Quaker positions on the Inner Light and the spirituality of the ordinances are listed in the third section of part one. This priority system is reflected later in the part covering rules of discipline. The section on disciplining offenders does not mention any specifically Quaker practices but simply states that, "If any member shall deny the fundamental doctrines of the Christian religion, or shall be guilty of conduct that brings the

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[34]*Constitution and Discipline of the American Yearly Meetings of Friends, Adopted by Western Yearly Meeting, 1901* (Plainfield, Indiana: The Friends Press, 1901) pp. 6 and 10.

Christian religion into public disrepute, the Monthly Meeting shall appoint a committee to endeavor, in a Christian spirit, to reclaim him; if this proves unavailing it shall disown him."[35]

These are the important features of the uniform discipline as it relates to the peace testimony: Quakers are a denomination of Christians who hold certain, identifying beliefs, one of which is a testimony against all war; the Monthly Meeting may disown a member from the society for denying the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, which are defined in part one, section one. Since the testimony against war does not appear in section one but in section three, breach of the peace testimony was not a disownable offense.

Because of the disciplines of their various meetings, war had traditionally created a problem for Quakers. The peace testimony, along with all other traditional Quaker doctrines and customs, had been enforced by these disciplines. But under the new uniform discipline, pacifism was defined as a uniquely Quaker and not a specifically Christian doctrine. As will be seen, this placement proved beneficial to both pacifist and non-pacifist Quakers during the first world war.

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[35]*Constitution and Discipline*, pp. 39-40.

Like the 1897 Conference, the first Five Years Meeting was a forum for discussion and debate. Delegates heard and deliberated about more than a dozen papers. But this time only Rufus Jones addressed a broad theoretical issue: "The Theory and Practice of Public Worship." The remainder of the papers were concerned with, "Scope and Work of the Evangelistic and Church Extension Board of Five Years Meeting," "Scope and Work on the Committee on Legislation," "Friends' Associated Work for Indians," "Present Condition of the Negroes and the Work to be Done for Them," "Scope and Work of the Board of Foreign Missions," "Methods of Practical Work Among Rural and Urban Communities," "Our Church Literature," and "Our Present Duty to the Cause of Peace and Arbitration."

Before any of the papers were read, the meeting had appointed twelve different committees and boards. Of these twelve, the Evangelistic and Church Extension Board, the Board of Legislation, the Board of Education, the Committee on Disciplinary Provisions, and the American Board of Foreign Missions were set up as standing committees with each Yearly Meeting represented by at least one, and usually two or three, members. These permanent boards had been agreed upon before the meeting convened. During the conference a Board on the Condition and Welfare of the Negroes was also proposed and appointed, with eleven at

large delegates and one representative from each of the eleven Yearly Meetings.[36]

Apparently the Five Years Meeting did not consider peace and arbitration work important enough to include it in the permanent administrative structure, but prior to the conference some of the delegates had worked out an effective maneuver. After Richard H. Thomas of Baltimore read "Our Present Duty to the Cause of Peace and Arbitration," one of the delegates proposed that the meeting record the following resolution:

> The Work of the Peace Association of Friends in America is heartily approved by this meeting, and while we urge the various Yearly meetings to continue their relations with it, giving it hearty support, and receiving its annual reports as heretofore, we appoint it as our official representative on the subject of Peace, and request it to make report also to this meeting.

Later in the same session, Anna B. Thomas, also from Baltimore, and editor of the Peace Association's journal the *Messenger of Peace*, addressed the delegates. She told them that her journal was already distributed to more states than were represented at the meeting, and she urged everyone to

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[36]*Minutes and Proceedings of the Five Years Meeting of the American Yearly Meetings Held in Indianapolis, Indiana 1902* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1903) p. 417. The boards had been proposed and approved at the 1897 conference and most of the papers read in 1902 were presented by people who had organized and directed them since then.

subscribe to and advertise the *Messenger of Peace*. Her hope was that, "each one of us [will] try to win over one person to the principles of Peace. Fix upon someone--your friend, the Methodist minister, or the Presbyterian minister; ask him to preach a Peace sermon on Peace Sunday."

This call to arms for Peace met with enthusiasm and unanimous consent to endorse the *Messenger of Peace*. Allen Jay, a delegate from Indiana, recognized the fact that, "this Peace Association of Friends in America has an organization; they have a Central Board, President, Vice-President, Secretary, Treasurer and Executive Committee." Without presuming the Five Years Meeting could absorb this structure, Jay asked that the above resolution--"minute" in Quaker parlance--be recorded. Richard Thomas responded to Jay by saying that, "I think the Peace Association of Friends will be glad to come under the Five Years Meeting."[37]

Alignment between the Five Years Meeting and the Peace Association of Friends enabled the Meeting to proceed directly into peace and arbitration work. While the other permanent boards were just getting organized and deciding how they were going to pursue their work, the Peace Association was already up and running. Moreover, the Five

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[37]*Proceedings of the Five Years Meeting 1902*, pp. 33, 301 and 304.

Years Meeting gave the Peace Association greater exposure and increased its constituency by officially recommending it to the Yearly Meetings. In turn, the Peace Association gave the Five Years Meeting exactly the type of centralized, efficient, productive board it would have to laboriously create in almost every other field of endeavor. As a result, by 1907 the Peace Association of Friends was no longer a separate entity, being listed instead as a permanent board of the Five Years Meeting. This partnership would prove fruitful over the next ten years and would do much to shape the Quaker response to World War I.[38]

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[38]*Minutes and Proceedings of the Five Years Meeting of the American Yearly Meetings held in Richmond, Indiana 1907* (Philadelphia: The John C. Winston Co., 1908) p. 145.

## Chapter Two: Into the Fold

By the time the first Five Years Meeting convened, Indianapolis, which was a part of Western Yearly Meeting, was one of the nation's largest Monthly Meetings. It had 908 members, three fourths of whom were members of First Friends Church whose meeting house was located at the corner of Alabama and 13th Streets. Other Quakers in the Indiana capital included 115 non-resident members, about 100 members of Second Friends Church in southwest Indianapolis, and a fluctuating number of members at a struggling mission church in Haughville.[39] All three of these congregations were separate preparative meetings (though Haughville was constantly in and out of operation) and all sent representatives to Indianapolis Monthly Meeting which was held at First Friends Church. This arrangement was greatly affected by Western Yearly Meeting's adoption of the uniform discipline which took effect in 1901.

Under the uniform discipline, preparative meetings no longer existed. Any official functions that they once had were taken over by the Monthly Meeting. This arrangement subordinated the Haughville and Second Friends congregations

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[39]Non-resident members were individuals who had chosen not to terminate membership even though they no longer lived in Indianapolis.

to First Friends Church. Haughville was destined to remain a mission and, though it had well over 100 members at one point in the 1910s, it never became an independent church and was closed for repairs, lack of interest, or lack of finances several times between 1900 and 1920. Second Friends fared better. In the 1900s, it was a working class congregation that still held annual revivals. But after 1903, all of its property and interests were effectively controlled by First Friends. In 1906, members of Second Friends asked for Monthly Meeting status, which was granted the following year when it became West Indianapolis Monthly Meeting. The only surviving references cite the physical distance between the churches as the reason for Second Friends' desire to separate from the larger body, but it also seems likely that the two congregations probably did not agree on doctrinal issues. Whether this is the case or not will likely never be known because after it became West Indianapolis Monthly Meeting, no records of the congregation that had once been Second Friends are found in likely document collections.[40] That West Indianapolis recorded

[40]The bulk of my research into Quakerism in Indianapolis was conducted at First Friends Church, now located on Kessler Boulevard in suburban northern Indianapolis. The congregation has a complete record of meeting minutes for First Friends dating back to the 1880s. Though these records do mention Second Friends, I was unable to locate records from that congregation. First Friends would be the most likely place for them, but I searched the

revivals, conversions, and renewals at the church in every year from 1910 to 1914 and that First Friends recorded no revivals, conversions, or renewals during that period is clear. But this information from the Yearly Meeting records is as much as surviving records yield about the differences between the two congregations. Consequently, the impact of the peace testimony cannot be effectively analyzed for the entire Quaker community in Indianapolis.[41]

Although this might appear to be a serious problem, an examination of the records of the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting and the Five Years Meeting reveals that everyone from Indianapolis who served on the latter's boards from 1902 to 1917 was a member of First Friends. This means that while it would obviously be better if records were available for all the congregations of Friends in Indianapolis, it is nevertheless reasonable to assume that a general picture of the impact of the Five Years Meeting on the peace testimony in the Indianapolis area can be gained from an analysis of

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Indiana Historical Society and the Earlham College Archives as well, to no avail.

[41]*Minutes of the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting, 1903-1914* 11 (7-16-03) and *Directory of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting, 1903*; *Constitution and Discipline*, 57; *Directories* of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting, 1909-1917; *Minutes of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting, 1903-1914* 73 (4-20-05), 82 (7-20-05), 90 (11-16-05) and 96 (1-18-06); *Minutes of Western Yearly Meeting of Friends* (Plainfield, Indiana: Friends Press, 1910-1914).

information available in the records of the First Friends Church.

## First Friends Church

Founded as a preparative meeting in 1855, First Friends grew rapidly and became a Monthly Meeting within ten years. The congregation belonged to Western Yearly Meeting, and its unique position within that jurisdiction was established during the revival and solidified in the 1880s and 1890s. This is important because Western was one of the most holy of the Holiness Yearly Meetings, and First Friends became one of the most important local meetings within the Western Yearly Meeting. The implications of this appear to be that, at one point, the Holiness influence was very strong in the First Friends congregation.

The Holiness influence was somewhat constrained when Barnabas C. Hobbs, the founder and first President of Earlham College, moved to Indianapolis in the midst of the revival. He had long represented a moderate position within the Western Yearly Meeting in which he was not only an influential Friend but also meeting clerk, and his moderation would be felt in the capital city after he became a minister in Indianapolis Monthly Meeting. Hobbs initiated a connection between Earlham and Indianapolis that was

enhanced when Joseph John Mills, former Indianapolis resident and minister in Indianapolis Monthly Meeting and later General Secretary of the Five Years Meeting, became President of Earlham in 1884.

As the city grew it became the natural destination for Friends who had been educated at Earlham and desired professional rather than agricultural careers. As one of the nation's few large urban meetings, First Friends was almost unique. At a time when the vast majority of American Friends lived in small rural communities and made their livings through agriculture, First Friends was a congregation composed of successful and businessmen and their families. Its members were relatively wealthy and well-educated.

By 1902, First Friends numbered some of the city's most influential lawyers, manufacturers, and businessmen among its members, and most of them were Earlham graduates. Nothing in the records explains why Indianapolis was chosen as the site of the 1892 and 1897 Conferences and the 1902 Five Years Meeting. But the fact that many of the Five Years Meeting's leaders were Richmond/Earlham Friends was probably important and the large number of successful Earlham graduates in the city would have helped Indianapolis

and First Friends to lure these landmark conventions.[42]

The location of the conference sessions in their own church and the number of Earlham graduates in the congregation goes far to explain First Friends' interest in the Five Years Meeting. In 1902, Western Yearly Meeting was characterized by small rural meetings that were largely evangelical and had little interest in the larger issues that the conferences of the 1890s raised. Before 1902, First Friends was much more representative of Quakers at Earlham and in Indiana Yearly Meeting, which encompassed most of eastern Indiana and western Ohio, than of its own Western Yearly Meeting. After 1902, the connection with Earlham continued, but First Friends' connection with the Five Years Meeting gradually became its truly distinguishing characteristic.[43]

The location of the conferences and the Five Years Meeting in Indianapolis exposed the members of First Friends Church to the issues and debates that were of concern among

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[42]*Fiftieth Anniversary, First Friends Church, 1855-1905,* Indianapolis: Aetna Printing Co., 1905) pp. 22-36; Hamm, pp. 118-119.

[43]Though the connection with the Five Years Meeting was more important, the connection between First Friends and Earlham grew stronger after 1902. The President of the Earlham Board of Trustees was Indianapolis lawyer Amos K. Hollowell, and two prominent businessmen, Edward D. Evans and John Furnas, recruited Earlham graduates to work for them.

leading Friends. Subscribers to the *American Friend*, the Philadelphia based journal edited by Rufus Jones, would have kept abreast of what was going on at these conferences, but not many members of the small agricultural meetings that still dominated American Quakerism received the publication.[44] Since each Yearly Meeting was represented by only five delegates plus one for each 1,000 members, many of the smaller rural meetings were not represented and may have heard nothing at all of the Five Years Meeting until their Yearly Meetings met in session sometime in 1903.

With a membership of over 16,000, Western Yearly Meeting was awarded 21 delegates to the Five Years Meeting in 1902. The place of Indianapolis' First Friends is indicated by the fact that four of these delegates (almost a fifth of the entire delegation) were members of this congregation, which had less than one-sixteenth of the Western Yearly Meeting's membership. Moreover, in addition to these delegates, First Friends had two members on permanent boards and over a dozen of its members attended the sessions as visitors. Add to this the fact that former pastor Thomas C. Brown presented a paper, as he had at the

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[44]Editorials in the *American Friend* during the years between 1902 and 1917 continually note that surveys had shown that the majority of subscribers came from the larger, more urban meetings and that many rural congregations did not count a single subscriber among their members.

1897 Conference when he was still First Friends' pastor, and it is clear that First Friends Church took an active interest in the 1902 Five Years Meeting. As will be shown, this interest grew over the next fifteen years. By the outset of World War I, First Friends had almost completely patterned its organization after the model of the Five Years Meeting.[45]

**First Friends Church and the Five Years Meeting, 1903-1907**

Between 1903 and 1907, its connection with Earlham had more impact on First Friends than the connection with the Five Years Meeting. Former Indianapolis minister Joseph John Mills was still Earlham's President in 1903, and prominent Indianapolis businessman Amos K. Hollowell had begun his lengthy tenure as Chairman of its Board of Trustees. The congregation's new pastor, Morton C. Pearson, was not an Earlham graduate, but he had been pastor of Knightstown Meeting in Henry County before coming to First Friends and, while there, had developed a relationship with

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[45]*Register of the Five Years Meeting of Orthodox Friends, 1902* shows that First Friends registered 19 visitors and 4 delegates, or almost 10 percent of the entire attendance; Thomas C. Brown, "Scope and Work of the Board of Foreign Missions," *Minutes and Proceedings 1903*, 185-189. Brown had also read a paper on, "The Position, Preparation, and Authority of the Pastor" at the 1897 conference.

Elbert Russell through his work with the Christian Endeavor Society of Indiana Yearly Meeting.

To call Russell representative of Earlham's position on every Quaker issue would be more than a little misleading. He and the Earlham biblical department he headed were constantly under attack by the still large and influential evangelical constituencies of Western, Indiana, and Wilmington (Ohio) Yearly Meetings, and he resigned his position in 1915 after a dispute with President Robert Kelly and the college's Board of Trustees. However, he was an influential enough figure among Quakers to maintain his position despite his combatively modernist approach to biblical study.

Biblical criticism was not Russell's only interest. He was a writer and lecturer and his articles on many topics appeared frequently in the *American Friend*. He was interested in and wrote on everything from "Evangelistic Work and the Social Problem" to "The Ministry for the Present Day." However, his main interest was in reform, and his earliest work in this field was on peace and arbitration.[46]

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[46]Elbert Russell, "Evangelistic Work and the Social Problem," *The American Friend* 23 (March 1916) 188-189; Elbert Russell, "The Ministry for the Present Day," *Minutes and Proceedings 1907*, pp. 417-427. Many of Russell's social and religious ideas were based on his belief in progressive revelation, and he often asserted that religious truths must

In 1900, Russell wrote a series of articles on these subjects that were published in the *American Friend,* and this series of articles apparently gave birth to a speaking tour. In December 1903, Morton Pearson wrote to Russell inquiring about an address on peace and arbitration about which he had recently heard. According to Pearson, the chairman of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting's Book, Peace, and Tract Committee had asked him to write to Russell and invite him to speak at First Friends. Pearson told Russell that his meeting had, "one department by the above name that is really alive and doing lots of work." The Committee was planning a lecture course for three to four Sunday evenings in the winter and wanted Russell to give the first address of the series on Sunday evening, January 4, 1904. Pearson also extended an offer to Russell and his wife to stay at his home, and added that he would be "glad and delighted" to have him preach on Sunday morning. A letter from Pearson dated December 29, 1903 confirms Russell's intention to speak at First Friends on the last Sunday in January, 1904.[47]

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be apprehended within the context of modern culture. The ideas presented in "The Ministry for the Present Day" scandalized Holiness Friends at the 1907 Five Years Meeting.

[47]Morton C. Pearson, letter to Elbert Russell, 15 December 1903, Elbert Russell Papers, Earlham College Archives.

It is clear from Pearson's letter that the Five Years Meeting's enthusiasm for peace and arbitration work was shared by the members of First Friends. What is more interesting at this point, however, is the connection between First Friends and Elbert Russell. Correspondences between Russell and Meeting member Amos K. Hollowell show that he had personally used Russell as a spiritual guide and advisor since the late 1890s. During the first decade of this century, the entire congregation was also exposed to Russell's views. Letters from Morton Pearson and Amos Hollowell show that Russell preached at First Friends Church at least three times in 1904 alone. A letter of November 17, 1906 from Morton Pearson shows that Russell may well have been in Indianapolis more regularly than can be documented.

Pearson valued the views that Russell imparted to his congregation, as is shown in the following letter:

> Dear Friend
>
> We want you to be with us on Sunday evening the 25th and address us on "The Church: its ministry and pastoral system." Deal with the subject principally in its present and future bearing on the life and progress of the church.
>
> The Ministerial Association meets the Monday following and I suppose you will want to remain over. Could you be with us at the morning service on the

> 25th? I believe it would be good for all if you could <u>preach</u> for our people occasionally.[48]

It is hard to know what to make of this letter. Unlike Russell, Pearson did not go to Earlham and did not even have a college education. Perhaps he wanted to inspire the congregation to move in a more modern, progressive direction and did not feel that the membership held his opinions on such matters in high enough esteem. If so, this might explain why he would ask Russell, who had degrees from both Earlham and the University of Chicago and was well known and respected by such influential members as Amos Hollowell, Walter Hoskins, David W. Edwards, and John Furnas to address the congregation on a topic to which he had obviously given thought himself.

On the other hand, Pearson's emphasis on the word preach at the end of the letter suggests that he felt that

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[48]A letter from Peace Department chairman Alvin T. Coate to Russell in January 1904 shows that First Friends was very interested in Peace and Arbitration. Besides Russell, Coate notes that his department had booked Prof. W.C. Dennis of Illinois University, Hon. Addison C. Harris, and Benjamin Trueblood of Boston to speak to members on the subject. The Elbert Russell Papers include letters from Pearson and Hollowell as well as prominent First Friends members John Furnas, David W. Edwards, Edward D. Evans, and Dr. Walter Hoskins during the years between 1899 and 1915. These letters indicate that Russell spoke at First Friends frequently during these years, and the letters of Hollowell, Hoskins, and Edwards show that those men used Russell as a spiritual counselor. The quotation is from a letter to Russell from Pearson, 7 November 1906.

Russell should do more than just lecture on his visits to First Friends. Russell seems to have been a valued intellectual and spiritual advisor to First Friends. This bond, which remained unbroken until Russell's departure from Earlham in 1915, was an important factor in strengthening the connection between First Friends and the Five Years Meeting after 1907.[49]

Beside the establishment of the bond with Elbert Russell, the most important event that happened at First Friends between the first two Five Years Meetings was its Fiftieth Anniversary Service. The Monthly Meeting selected Sunday June 4, 1905 as "anniversary Sabbath," and made arrangements for morning and evening services:

> A committee of Friends was appointed to arrange for and have charge of the services, all of which proved to be worthy of the occasion. The auditoriums of the church were tastefully decorated and the choir rendered most appropriate anthems and hymns of praise. The audiences were large, composed largely of Friends some of whom came many miles to attend the services, all of which were marked by great thoughtfulness and such as to inspire all to greater zeal and activity in the work of saving the world.[50]

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[49]Letters from Pearson to Russell in the spring of 1903 show that Russell helped Pearson get into a summer program at the Chicago Divinity School. The exposure to modernist views and the social gospel at Chicago helps explains Pearson's later social reform work with the Ministerial Union and the Church Federation.

[50]*Fiftieth Anniversary Service,* p. 2. The presence of a choir at the ceremony (and at every Sunday service at First Friends by 1905) is evidence of the impact that the

Two speakers were chosen for the occasion. Former pastor Albert J. Brown, who served the church from 1897 to 1903, gave the anniversary sermon in the morning and at the evening service, his predecessor Thomas Brown (1893-1897) spoke on, "The Church of the Future, What shall it Be?" As former pastors, Albert and Thomas Brown were logical choices to speak at an occasion remembering the history of First Friends. As modernists and active delegates to the 1902 Five Years Meeting, they were excellent choices to address the subject at hand, which was not the past but the future of the church.[51]

Albert Brown's sermon began with an account of the high ideals of the Quaker forefathers, but quickly changed focus to the contemporary situation:

> In the problem of theology to-day there is the distracting period of change and new interpretation. Whether it be right or wrong, it is sinking down into the hearts of the young men and women of this country, and they will hold to the new interpretation. If

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Holiness revival had on even the larger, more urban, and more intellectual Quaker meetings.

[51]Little is known about Thomas Brown, who was the second full-time pastor at First Friends. Albert Brown, however, was a well known, well educated young minister who was called to First Friends and used the exposure that his position there and in the Five Years Meeting provided him to attain the Presidency of Wilmington College in 1903. After Albert Brown, First Friends called pastors from outside its membership, from as far away as New York and Iowa, and tended to choose men who held prominent positions in the Five Years Meeting.

> we are unable to go with them, we shall stand aside after a while and see them build institutions with other ideals and other forms than we have seen fit to follow.

He went on to discuss the drastic political, social, and economic changes that were going on in the world with which Christianity had to keep pace. Despite such changes, his outlook was optimistic; he believed that the material progress that mankind had made and was making would be paralleled by a spiritual progress that might finally bring the world to salvation through Christ. Brown ended his morning sermon by offering a vision of the place that he hoped Quakerism would attain in the modern Christian world:

> My Friends, I hope to see in the twenty or thirty years that will be allotted to the most of us the most splendid triumphs of spiritual life that this great country has known, and I hope to see standing beside the other institutions of religious life the Friends Church. Oh, I should love to see it foremost, even. I should love to see it striking into the roots of human society as it has done in the past, and out of it all coming that emancipation spirit which shall free us from the sins of individual and social life.[52]

In the evening, Thomas Brown's sermon was even stronger in its modernist outlook. He offered an analysis of church and human history to defend his position that Christianity has always undergone redefinition and the terms of faith

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[52] *Fiftieth Anniversary Service*, pp. 8-17.

have constantly been restated. Despite this continual reevaluation, he argued that Christianity remains an enduring force because "truth is with the church." But it only succeeds in manifesting the truth to the extent that it, "adopts methods that are suited to the people and times in which they live." He continued, insisting that, "it surely was never intended for the church to stand still and every other line of human activity be in ceaseless, surging effort to reach a higher plane of effectiveness."[53]

Among Thomas Brown's listeners was Alfred Johnson, a charter member of First Friends who had traveled from his home in Richmond for the ceremony. When asked to come before the audience and say a few words, Johnson stated, "I think silence would be best." Mary Carter, another charter member, recalled the times in the early 1850s when the congregation met in the home of Robert Underhill and, "as we did not often have ministers with us, he would read a chapter from the bible about the middle of our hour of worship." One wonders if these two veteran Friends who had been raised in the Quaker tradition of silent waiting for the Inner Light during worship would have chosen to use the phrase, "ceaseless, striving effort" if they were asked what Quakerism is or should be. But that was the vision of

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[53]Thomas C. Brown, "The Church of the Future, What Should it Be?," *Fiftieth Anniversary Service*, pp. 36-41.

Quakerism that had taken hold of First Friends by the mid-1900s, and only a vision which saw a Christian world on the verge of a Quaker breakthrough could have inspired such language.[54]

## The Five Years Meeting - 1907

In 1905, an editorial in the *American Friend* reprinted the articles of the newly formed Federal Council of Churches of Christ in America. The council articles allowed for four delegate members from each denomination plus an additional delegate for each 50,000 members. The 32 Protestant denominations listed in the articles included the Society of Friends, but since the Five Years Meeting initiated contact with the Council, only Quakers under its jurisdiction were included. The Friends were awarded six delegates. Rufus Jones, who wrote the editorial, was concerned that the Yearly Meetings outside of the Five Years Meeting would not be represented, and so he urged all Yearly Meetings to send delegates to Richmond in 1907 and to get involved with the Council.[55]

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[54]*Fiftieth Anniversary Service*, pp. 45 and 49.

[55]Editorial, *The American Friend* 12 (November 1905): p. 788.

Earlier in that same year another editorial had appeared praising the moves that the Presbyterians and Baptists were making to unite their denominations. In it, Jones stated his belief that,

> This is the tendency in our time, and it is the right tendency. Divisions and schisms are due to ignorance and self-will. They disappear when knowledge and love grow fuller. Before another half-century has passed all the great working denominations--the truly evangelical denominations--will close up their gaps and solidify their forces. They will learn to direct their blows at the common enemy instead of at groups of others.

Yet even as the editor of the American Friend appealed for those outside the Five Years Meeting to come in, there were signs of extreme discord. By the time the Five Years Meeting convened in Richmond in October 1907, the Holiness element within its jurisdiction brought the unity of the Gurneyite Society into question once again. Divisive issues had to be settled if Quakers were to become an active and powerful force in the emerging world of federated Protestantism, a world that would not abide extreme fundamentalism.[56]

The controversy in question erupted in 1906 when Levi Lupton, a struggling Quaker minister from Alliance, Ohio

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[56]Editorial, *The American Friend* 12 (June 1905): p. 380.

turned to Pentacostalism after his World Evangelization Company and missionary training school had failed. He began preaching that speaking tongues was a third definite experience after sanctification.[57] In January 1907, the iconoclastic Lupton took two Pentecostal preachers with him to the Friends Bible Institute in Cleveland, an institution that has been described as the heart of Holiness Quakerism.[58] When the three arrived, they proceeded to take over the winter revival that was going on at the Institute and adjacent church. The leading Friends in Cleveland, Walter Malone, Edward Mott, and William Pinkham, soon

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[57]Hamm, pp. 69-170. Born in Beloit, Ohio in 1860, Lupton was converted to Holiness teachings in the 1880s and spent several years conducting revivals as a traveling minister. In 1901, he settled in Alliance, Ohio as pastor of a Friends church that had been established there after one of his revivals. Once in Alliance, Lupton became increasingly fanatical, establishing the World Evangelization Company in 1902 with the sole purpose of evangelizing the world "in this generation" and preparing the way for the second coming of Christ. He also established a missionary training school at Alliance and began printing a weekly paper entitled *New Acts*. Lupton's denunciations of denominationalism upset Ohio Yearly Meeting, in which he was a minister, and it appointed a special committee to "investigate and advise" his work. By 1906, financial troubles and desertions forced Lupton to stop publishing his paper and dismiss classes at his school. He and his handful of followers were reduced to praying that local believers might be moved to donate food to them. As a last desperate measure, the group conducted a prayer vigil to seek an answer to their problems. While this vigil was still underway, Pentecostal preachers arrived in the area and their presence and message were taken as a sign from God.

[58]Hamm, p.161.

expressed their judgment that the movement was not of God. But the preachers had already won converts among the students, and the third definite experience swept through Holiness meetings throughout Quakerism. Ohio Yearly Meeting disowned Lupton in an emergency session, but its action failed to end the tongues issue among Holiness Friends.[59]

The events of early 1907 provided Rufus Jones and other modernists with the opportunity to demonstrate the truth of modernism and the unsoundness of extreme Holiness and fundamentalism. After all, Jones' vision of a unified and powerful Quakerism was at stake. Furthermore, he realized that the mainline Protestant denominations in the Church Federation would not be eager to work with a denomination that had significant fundamentalist tendencies. Holiness Friends, who had originally attacked traditional sectarian Quakerism, were about to be chased from the fold and themselves adopt the trappings of a sect.

In late January 1907, before embarking on a lecture tour that included engagements at Wilmington, Earlham, Penn College in Iowa, and Friends University in Kansas, Jones met with Albert Brown, former Pastor of First Friends who had become President of Wilmington College, Elbert Russell, and other sympathizers to discuss how to convince Friends that

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[59]Hamm, pp. 170-172.

Lupton's course was the wrong one for Quakerism. Jones was successful in winning Friends to the modernist position, stating that, "the Friends I met are sick and tired of attacks on education and attempts to carry the church into a type of effervescent Christianity."[60]

But this lecture tour was only a prelude to the Five Years Meeting. It turns out that several leaders of that body were involved in a number of secret conferences in 1906-1907 and that the Five Years Meeting actually paid for Jones's lecture tour. Both of these matters are revealed in a letter Albert Brown wrote to Elbert Russell, which is in the Russell Papers at Earlham College, and in the minutes of the 1907 Five Years Meeting. In addition, to ensure that the modernist position would be in the vanguard, a group of leading modernists held a conference before the meeting convened in which a decision was made that Jones and Russell should present modernist views in the papers they were scheduled to read.[61]

These papers, and the responses to them, typify Jones and Russell and their respective positions among Friends. Jones used his paper, "The Present Opportunity for Friends"

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[60]Hamm, p. 172. The quote is from an editorial in the *American Friend* written after Jones' lecture tour and proclaiming its success.

[61]Albert Brown, letter to Elbert Russell, 8 October 1907, Elbert Russell Papers.

to subtly attack revival methods and the entire Holiness conception of religion. He claimed that the world was, "just now on the outer fringe of a revival of mystical religion," and went on to stress his belief that Quakerism was essentially an inward, personal religion based solely on spiritual authority. Several Holiness Friends mildly criticized the paper on the grounds that the religion it proposed was too intellectual, but even an older Quaker who "stood as a product of the revival forty years ago," judged it "a fine presentation of idealism which lacked the teaching of the old Gospel."[62]

The reception Russell's paper received was not so mild. In his paper, "Ministry for the Present Day," Russell stated that the Quaker ministry must be purely spiritual, must present its message in present-day terms, and that this message must be less theological and more social. Holiness Quakerism made a connection between right belief and perceptible signs of God's grace. Russell wanted Quakers to return to the spirituality of the Inner Light whose perceptible expression would be social action. He told the delegates that, "there was a time when truth was dished out to men defined and labeled, and they were told to 'believe

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[62]Hamm, p. 172; Elbert Russell, *Elbert Russell, Quaker* (Jackson, Tennessee: Friendly Press, 1956) pp. 119-120; *Minutes and Proceedings 1907*, pp. 213-230.

or be damned.' Now we ask them to 'taste and see.'" At another point, Russell stated that the modern preacher should emphasize that "heaven and hell are essentially spiritual states not places."[63]

Holiness Friends were scandalized. A member of the delegation from California Yearly Meeting got down on her knees and offered a prayer for Russell's soul as he walked back to his seat. But when two Holiness Friends protested the proposed publication of Russell's paper in the meeting's proceedings, they were voted down by an overwhelming majority. All of the delegates may not have agreed wholeheartedly with the modernists, but most were at least not fundamentalist enough to allow the meeting to censor one member's opinions.[64]

While the events of 1906-1907 did not eradicate the fundamentalist element from Gurneyite Quakerism, they settled the question of which version of Quakerism the Five Years Meeting would project. After the Five Years Meeting in 1907 the modernists were firmly in control and free to move that body ever closer to mainstream Protestantism, which had already begun the process of excluding fundamentalism.

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[63]*Minutes and Proceedings 1907*, pp. 417-426.

[64]*Minutes and Proceedings 1907*, pp. 417-426; *Elbert Russell, Quaker*, p. 119.

Though the 1907 meeting was held in Richmond rather than Indianapolis, First Friends was no less involved than it was with the previous conference. Its constituency was represented by two delegates, the Chairman of the Auditing Committee, the Chairman and Acting General Secretary of the American Friends Board of Foreign Missions, two members of the Associated Executive Committee on Indian Affairs, and two of the Five Years Meeting's five Trustees. And, although First Friends was not represented on the Business Committee, the body responsible for recommending sites for the next conference, after a short debate Indianapolis was chosen to host the Five Years Meeting again in 1912. As printed in the Minutes and Proceedings, here is the whole of the debate:

> J.J. MILLS of Canada: The Business Committee recommend that the Five Years Meeting shall meet at Richmond next time, with the proviso, that the Committee of Arrangements be authorized to make a change if circumstances make it advisable to do so.
>
> CLERK: The Chair would explain the proviso. The Business Committee were informed that Indiana Yearly Meeting is taking into consideration the subject bettering the acoustic properties of this house, but if it is found the acoustic properties are not improved the Committee of Arrangements are authorized to call the meeting elsewhere it being understood that the call shall be made at least six months before the meeting.
>
> DAVID HADLEY of Western: I think we will find some benefit from the Five Years Meeting moving about in the Church, and I am not in favor of having Richmond a center.

> Indianapolis, Muncie, and other meetings can furnish ample accommodation and I think we ought not come to such a conclusion. I want to offer a little dissent in a friendly spirit.
>
> CHARLES E. TEBBETS of California: This is not for all time is it?
>
> CLERK: Not at all.
>
> THOMAS C. BROWN of Western: The thought with me would be to select another place, and if we do not find proper accommodations come here another time.
>
> CLERK: The matter has been given careful consideration by the Business Committee.
>
> ALBERT J. BROWN of Wilmington: I am in favor of this Five Years Meeting being set for Indianapolis. They have a building erected, and a press in that city which has a national reputation.
>
> DAVID HADLEY of Western: I move that the next Five Years Meeting be held in the City of Indianapolis.
>
> Seconded.
>
> Motion Carried.

This decision would bring the Five Years Meeting and First Friends closer together, and therefore greatly influence the course that the congregation took in the years between 1912 and the United States' entry into World War I.[65]

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[65]*Minutes and Proceedings 1907*, p. 477.

**First Friends and the Five Years Meeting, 1912-1917**

Rufus Jones summed up the progress of the Five Years Meeting in an editorial review in the *American Friend* in October, 1907. In it, he noted that the organization's standing Boards were having a great deal of difficulty getting organized; their members were widely scattered and several of the departments lacked "constructive statesmen" to articulate their purposes and direct their efforts. He urged Friends to wait patiently for their constructive work to begin. But the modernist victory at the 1907 conference cleared the way for the Five Years Meeting's Committees. By 1912 the Five Years Meeting was ready to take steps to further centralize the permanent Boards and the organization as a whole.[66]

To better organize the works of the various boards, the meeting voted to establish a central office in Richmond to be staffed by a General Secretary and an assistant. Their job was to distribute information, answer correspondence, and prepare materials for distribution to the Yearly Meetings and the various Boards. To organize and direct the work of the Boards during the years between conferences, the Five Years Meeting established an Executive Committee

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[66]"The Five Years Meeting - A Review," *The American Friend* 14 (October 1907) p. 695.

composed of the clerk, the chairman of the standing boards, and one delegate from each Yearly Meeting. These centralizing moves were augmented by the meeting's decision to create a weekly periodical. Seven Friends were appointed to the Friends' Publication Board and were charged with taking over operations of the *American Friend*. In the process of reorganizing the journal, the board intended to, "eliminate other periodicals from the field as far as possible, and proceed to make a religious paper for the great group of Friends represented in the Five Years Meeting and for all other Friends to whom it can appeal." Before the new *American Friend* printed its first number January 1913, it left Philadelphia and joined the Five Years Meeting's central office in Richmond.[67]

These moves marked a new era for the Five Years Meeting. During its first ten years of existence, the *American Friend* had been very sympathetic to it, but the organization was brand new and its purposes were not clear enough to warrant an official journal. Also, during these years the *American Friend* was competing for readers with the Cleveland-based *Evangelical Friend*. As long as both publications represented powerful constituencies within the Five Years Meeting and presented opposing views, neither

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[67]"The Five Years Meeting of 1912," *The American Friend* 19 (October 1912) pp. 695-696.

could claim to be the organization's official voice without alienating a large section of its membership. Jones' lecture tour and the Five Years Meeting of 1907 won many Holiness leaders to the modernist view and forced the Holiness Friends to take a more moderate stance within the organization.[68] By 1912, the Five Years Meeting was able to convince Holiness Friends that having two journals was divisive and that a unified journal would provide an open forum for the views of all Quakers.

The new *American Friend* was precisely that. Each of the standing Boards was given a page each week, and most of them had field secretaries who would report information for these pages from various parts of the country. The central office had a page at the end of the journal on which it pleaded for increased circulation and made announcements of conferences, anniversary celebrations, or other activities of interest to Friends. The first page continued to run editorials, now contributed by new editor S. Edgar Nicholson, which generally addressed broader religious and social issues and often presented the activities of other Protestant denominations, the Federal Council and other inter-church organizations, as well as accounts of

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[68]Hamm, p. 172. Jones faced down the Holiness leaders of Kansas Yearly Meeting during a lecture at Friends University in Wichita and "completely turned the tide" away from fundamentalism and toward modernism.

activities of Friends outside the Five Years Meeting.

Between the editorial page and the various departmental pages, the new *American Friend* became a printed forum for the discussion of important issues and individual Quaker views. Nicholson would often run "symposia" on certain topics that consisted of letters from Friends in different parts of the country. It still ran lengthy articles by leading Quakers like Jones and Russell, but it also printed letters from Friends everywhere that represented a wide range of responses to the various issues raised in the journal. Most importantly, however, the new *American Friend* organized and communicated the work of the Five Years Meeting throughout its constituency and served as the united voice of Gurneyite Quakerism in America.

The 1912 conference in Indianapolis represented the crystallization of the connection between First Friends and the Five Years Meeting. In his last editorial review of the Five Years Meeting before stepping down as editor of the *American Friend*, Rufus Jones gave the following assessment of the 1912 conference:

> It is obvious that the Five years Meeting of 1912 marks an epoch in American Quakerism. It got things of large importance accomplished; it greatly strengthened the unity of the entire body, and it went down deeper into the spiritual roots of life than any previous meeting I have attended.

One of the "things of large importance" that the meeting accomplished was the establishment of the Board of Young People's Activities. Modernists had always stressed the value of the Church's young members, but before 1912 sessions at the Five Years Meetings were dominated by ministers and elders. In 1912, several sessions were given over to the many young Friends who were in attendance and an active dialogue developed between them and the Meeting's older leadership. Elder members neither necessarily approved of the young Friends' boisterous organ playing and singing, nor their close contact with groups of young Hicksite Friends. But all agreed that the young Friends' energy represented a renewal of the ancient Quaker spirit and the workings of the Inner Light.

One thing that Quakers young and old had shared for several years before the 1912 meeting was a renewed interest in Quaker history. Early in this century, leading Friends such as Rufus Jones and Elbert Russell began researching and writing histories of Quakerism, and many Quaker congregations began conducting Quaker history courses. The combination of spirituality and social action present in the early Quaker movement in England and the American colonies represented the "spiritual roots" of Quakerism and offered a model for the type of mystical yet active religion that the

Quaker modernists desired.[69]

The 1912 conference received extensive coverage in both the *Indianapolis News* and the *Indianapolis Star* which emphasized and lauded the enthusiasm and progressive ideas that characterized the Society of Friends. No doubt the papers also took note of the fact that First Friends was well represented, the congregation had two delegates at the conference, dozens of visitors, and representatives on the Board of Trustees, the Auditing Committee, the Board on Education, the Board of Young People's Activities, the Friends' Publication Board, the Board on Federation of Churches, and the Associated Executive Committee of Friends on Indian Affairs.[70]

A professional move made by Pastor Morton C. Pearson of First Friends Church a month before the 1912 Five Years Meeting is indicative of the larger Quaker attempt to connect with other Protestants concerned with the social gospel through various interdenominational federations. Pearson left First Friends in September to become the first

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[69]*Indianapolis News,* 21 October 1912.

[70]"The Five Years Meeting of 1912," *The American Friend* 19 (October 1912) p. 696; the *Indianapolis Star* and the *Indianapolis News* every day between 10/15 and 10/22/1912; *Minutes of the Five Years Meeting of Friends in America held in Indianapolis, Indiana Tenth Month 15 to Tenth Moth 22, 1912* (Richmond, Indiana: Nicholson Printing Co., 1912) pp. 285-300.

executive secretary of the newly formed Protestant Church Federation of Indianapolis. He continued to attend First Friends and teach a young women's bible class, and his leadership insured that First Friends would be an active member of the Federation for many years to come.

First Friends also benefited from the move to centralize the operations of the Boards and the creation of the new *American Friend.* The first chairman of the newly created Board of Young People's Activities of the Five Years Meeting was Willard O. Trueblood, new pastor of First Friends. Trueblood had come to Indianapolis in September, 1912, to replace Morton Pearson. Trueblood's position as chairman entitled him to a place on the Executive Committee, and he was subsequently named its secretary. When the Five Years Meeting created the Friends' Publication Board, it selected Indianapolis businessman and First Friends member Alvin T. Coate as its chairman. Coate would thereafter have been intricately involved in the development of the new *American Friend.*[71]

In the years between 1902 and 1912, the Five Years

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[71]*Minutes 1907*, pp. 285-300. Trueblood was a student of Russell's at Earlham, and the Elbert Russell Papers show that the two communicated regularly in the years between Trueblood's graduation and his move to Indianapolis. Russell's relationships with Pearson and Trueblood before they became pastor at First Friends suggests that he had some influence in the selection process.

Meeting's influence on First Friends is hard to assess. The Five Years Meeting's standing Boards were modeled after those of the member Yearly Meetings, so First Friends would have had similar committees before 1902. The annual report of these committees are generally not printed in First Friends minute books, so it is difficult to determine exactly what they were doing or which ones were the most active. However, evidence of Elbert Russell's involvement with First Friends shows that its membership was emphasizing some of the same things as the Five Years Meeting. The addresses on peace and arbitration and the modern pastoral system mentioned above reflect the Five Years Meeting's emphasis on social reform and the Quaker ministry.

The stress the leaders of the Five Years Meeting placed on the study of Quaker history bore fruit in Indianapolis.[72] In 1905, Pearson wrote to Russell of his plans to organize a large class to study Quaker history and doctrines. He requested an outline for such a course that would provide twenty-five separate lessons, and then asked Russell if he would open the course with a lecture on the first Sunday evening in October, 1905: "we want to enlist the co-operation of all our members in this study and we want you

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[72]It is important to note that the study of Quaker history would have provided Quaker modernists a means of questioning the move to Holiness theology and ritual practice in a direct manner.

to open the course with a sort of 'rouser.'" The addresses given by Russell between 1903 and 1906 show that First Friends was sympathetic to the Five Years Meeting during those years, but they do not show the direct connection between the two that is apparent after 1912.[73]

Although the Five Years Meeting did not publish a periodical in its early years and only decided to take over the *American Friend* in 1912, First Friends Church took charge of editing a local monthly journal called the *Silent Evangel* two years earlier. This had started as a small publication called the *Silent Evangelist* in 1904. It was originally published by the Silent Evangel Society, and it billed itself as, "A non-sectarian, and interdenominational paper; designed as a cheap and popular channel for all who are interested in the distribution of Bibles, Tracts, Scripture Mottoes, etc., as silent messengers." Its ten pages consisted mainly of stories and articles reprinted from various religious papers and journals throughout the country. No editor was mentioned and authors' names were generally not printed. Because only a few copies from the third volume (1906) exist, it is impossible to determine how wide a circulation this publication had or who its audience was. By 1913, however, new editors would claim a

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[73]Morton Pearson, letter to Elbert Russell, 28 August 1905, Elbert Russell Papers.

circulation of 30,000 in Indiana and 3,000 in Indianapolis.[74]

In 1910 the name was changed to the *Silent Evangel* and the masthead noted that it was, "Published in the Interest of First Friends Church, Indianapolis." In 1913, the journal consisted of several pages of advertisements followed by two pages of information about First Friends. The body of the journal still consisted of reprinted articles and stories, but they were now followed by several additional advertising pages. None of the numbers from the first volume of the *Silent Evangel* exist so it is impossible to determine how or why First Friends became involved with it. Fortunately, however, we do have complete runs of the 1913 and 1914 numbers, and scattered issues from 1915 to 1918. By the time of the last available issue in 1921, the *Silent Evangel* was no longer associated with First Friends but was, "Published in the Interest of the Indianapolis Evangelistic Campaign."

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[74]"Friends Periodicals, When and Where Published," *The Silent Evangel* p. 4 (September 1913) 5; *The Silent Evangelist* 3 (February 1906) p. 2. The Indiana State Library has a full run of the 1913 and 1914 editions of the *Silent Evangel* and several copies of the 1914, 1915, and 1917 editions. It also has a few copies of the *Silent Evangelist* from 1906. These are the only copies of either journal that I could locate in the state. Since there is not a copy of the first number of either journal, it is difficult to determine exactly who started them or what audience they intended to reach.

Extant copies of the *Silent Evangel* provide striking evidence of the connection between First Friends and the Five Years Meeting after 1912, however. In a list under the heading, "Some Needs of the Church," the January 1913 issue noted the following needs:

> 6. More subscribers for the American Friend are needed, which has appeared in new dress and as the official organ of the church under a new management. It is the only medium by which the members of the church can keep up with the advanced ideas in religious thought and church work. One dollar and a half a year is a mighty small amount to spend for your education in this line; the proportion of subscribers among our members is too small to make public.
>
> A great step in advance was taken when the American Friend transferred to this 'Great Middle West', where the thoughts, needs, and actual work of the church in America can be more accurately reflected than is possible in any extreme section of our country. The Business Men's Bible Class, about two years ago, urged such a transfer and are rightfully entitled to some of the credit therefor. A political party without a strong publicity department would hardly command our attention or respect in these times.
>
> 7. Not 'club' methods and not more societies are needed so much as greater sympathy and closer federation among the different departments of our church that we already have.

Since the chairman of the Friends' Publication Board and the entire Auditing Committee of the Five Years Meeting

were members of the First Friends Businessmen's Bible Class, the claim of credit for the *American Friend's* move does not seem too inflated. As for the need for closer federation of existing departments, that is the same need that was expressed at the 1912 conference and that the new *American Friend* was designed to address.[75]

First Friends moved to address this need in exactly the same manner as did the Five Years Meeting. The February 1913 issue of the *Silent Evangel* stated that,

> Former issues have included directories of standing committees, treasurer's reports and for the first time have brought to the membership at large what only those attending monthly meeting have known; we would continue to acquaint the members in a permanent way for reference with other departments of our church activities, since very few members have access to the minutes of our business meetings and since the minutes are not read at the following sessions.

In March 1913, the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting appointed Mr. and Mrs. Charles V. Reagan full-time editors of the *Silent Evangel* and gave them liberty to increase the space for items of direct interest to First Friends. In March, the new editors printed a letter thanking the Monthly Meeting for their appointment and stating that,

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[75]"Some Needs of the Church," *The Silent Evangel* 4 (January 1913) p. 5.

> Our aim shall be in the two or more pages allotted to us to boil down, simmer and condense the religious and secular information of interest to Friends, so that this little magazine with a circulation of thirty thousand in Indiana and over three thousand in Indianapolis, will be equal to any sixteen page publication, the *New American Friend* not excepted.

The *Silent Evangel* did not provide a forum for discussion of views of current issues, but aside from that it performed exactly the same function for First Friends that the *American Friend* did for the Five Years Meeting. To make the comparison complete, in a September 1913 list of "Friends Periodicals, When and Where Published," the editors said of the *Silent Evangel* that it, "has been the official organ of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting since March, 1913." The listing notes that First Friends had used the publication since 1910, but only after the Five Years Meeting decided that it needed an official journal in 1912 did First Friends decide to turn the *Silent Evangel* into its "official organ."[76]

First Friends' connections with the Five Years Meeting and the *American Friend* after 1912 gave it a national Quaker exposure. The journal frequently published the articles and

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[76]*The Silent Evangel* v4 n2 (1913): p. 4; "New Management," *The Silent Evangel* v4 n3 (1913): p. 3; "To Indianapolis Monthly Meeting," *The Silent Evangel* v4 n4 (1913): p. 3; "Friends Periodicals, When and Where Published," *The Silent Evangel* v4 n9 (1913): pp. 4-5.

letters of Alvin T. Coate, and First Friends' Bible School was presented as a model for other Quaker congregations. But it was mainly through Willard Trueblood that national Quaker attention was focused on First Friends.

The establishment of the Board of Young People's Activities was considered one of the most significant achievements of the 1912 conference. The *American Friend* and the Indianapolis newspapers commented on the increased interest that young people had taken in the proceedings, and the Five Years Meeting wanted to encourage its young members to take an active interest in the church. To this end, the "Young Friend's Page" of the *American Friend* was often placed first among the pages of the permanent Boards and sometimes granted two to three pages. Willard Trueblood spearheaded a campaign to draw all young Quakers into active participation in church endeavors. He was asked to lecture on the endeavors of the Board of Young Peoples Activities at Yearly Meeting sessions throughout the United States, and the *American Friend* noted that he was a "young people's pastor not only of Indianapolis, but of the whole country. He has always been a leader of young people." Trueblood also served as the clerk of Western Yearly Meeting and president of the Ministerial Union of Indianapolis.[77]

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[77]"Introduction of Leaders to Readers of This Page," *The American Friend* 23 (December 1916): p. 994.

When it came to interchurch cooperation, First Friends could have served as the model for the Five Years Meeting. After resigning as pastor to take up his duties as executive secretary of the Church Federation, Morton Pearson remained an active member of First Friends. He taught a young women's bible class, served on several committees, and often preached in Trueblood's absence between 1913 and his move to Detroit in 1919. In August 1913, Pearson preached a sermon at First Friends on the, "Invincibility, Permanence, and Unity of the Church." In it he presented a strong plea for unity in church effort and outlined the projected work of the Church Federation. Over the next seven years, First Friends participated in all of the special Sundays and membership campaigns that the Church Federation planned and donated money to it annually. Trueblood served with Pearson on the Federation's Evangelistic Committee, the group that was responsible for developing the Indianapolis Evangelistic Campaign of the pre-World War I years which became famous for its success.[78] When the Federation incorporated in 1916, Pearson and lawyer Thomas L. Scott represented First

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[78]Edwin L. Becker, *From Sovereign to Servant: The Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis, 1912-1987* (Indianapolis: The Church Federation of Greater Indianapolis, 1987) pp. 1-18. The Indianapolis Evangelistic Campaign brought in 8,000 new members to the city's Protestant churches between October 1915 and Easter 1916. It also brought the nation's attention to Morton Pearson, who was contacted by Protestant leaders in several cities.

Friends as directors. The Five Years Meeting supported the Federal Council of Churches and was actively represented in it, but its small delegation hindered its influence in that body. Yet if Indianapolis Quakers were represented in the Church Federation by only one congregation, that congregation supplied its executive secretary and two of its five directors. This type of disproportionate influence was what the Five Years Meeting regularly identified in Quakerism's past and hoped for in its future.[79]

On both the national and local scale, cooperation with interchurch organizations brought public attention to the Quaker peace testimony in the years before World War I. Nationally, it was a period of great interest in the causes of peace and arbitration. The Federal Council of Churches established a Board of Peace and Arbitration, and Quakers everywhere felt an increased interest in this traditional aspect of their denomination. Things were no different locally. In April 1913, the *Silent Evangel* announced that, "Mayor Shank has recognized our church by appointing to the Peace Conference, to be held in St. Louis in early May, the following members: Rev. W. O. Trueblood, R. Furnas, A. K. Hollowell, and A. T. Coate."[80]

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[79]"Sermons," *The Silent Evangel* v4 n8 (1913): p. 6.

[80]*The Silent Evangel* v4 n4 (1913): p. 5.

In 1913 Quaker spirits were high, both in Indianapolis and throughout the nation, and Friends were optimistic that if Christians could be won to the cause of peace they could be won to other Quaker doctrines. How this spirit of optimism and the traditional Quaker peace testimony were effected by the outbreak of World War I will be dealt with in Chapter 3.

## Chapter Three: Service and Sacrifice

The split that occurred in the larger American Protestant world in the early twentieth century between the mainline liberal Protestant denominations whose leaders and members were espousing the social gospel and an increasingly marginalized group of Holiness/Fundamentalist movements proved advantageous to the modernist Quaker cause. As we have seen, Quaker modernists, particularly Rufus Jones and his compatriots, were able to prevent Quakerism from being transformed into some generic form of Holiness/Fundamentalist Christianity through the preservation of the distinctly Quaker doctrine of the Inner Light.[81] These Friends had not resented the connections that the Holiness movement had established between Quakerism and the larger Christian society. But at the same time, they refused to accept the rejection of traditional Quaker theology that Holiness beliefs demanded. Modernist Quakers who sought to preserve their "ancient religion" while making it a vital force in contemporary society found a solution in the social gospel and the world of interdenominational Protestantism. At the same time, the modern world's belief in man's perfectibility (if not in his perfection) gave Quakers cause to believe that their traditional doctrines

were really winning the day.

Sociologists describe man's effort to provide the firm social and institutional structures that are necessary for human life but are not provided in our biological make-up as "world-building." In this model, society is an entirely human construct. Yet it perpetually acts back upon its creator, shaping man's relationship to the physical world, to other people, and to himself.

Ironically, these constructed worlds are only effective to the extent to which they appear to be "un-constructed." In other words, these worlds must somehow correspond to the universe as such, to essential human nature, to "ultimate reality." Though they are fundamentally human productions, institutions, roles, and identities exist as objectively real phenomena in the social world provided that they can be effectively and repeatedly legitimated.[82]

The identity crisis that wracked Quakerism during the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the result of major changes in the way the larger culture legitimated its

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[81] See Chapter 1, pp. 26-27.

[82] Peter L. Berger, *The Sacred Canopy* (New York: Doubleday, 1967) p. 13. Berger defines legitimation as "socially objectivated 'knowledge' that serves to explain and justify the social order." (p. 29) In his model, religion is the most effective instrument of legitimation because it enables societies to relate empirical reality constructions with the ultimate reality; it connects the human and the sacred worlds.

story. The secularization that was taking place within American society at the time drastically reduced the size and scope of "sacred reality."[83] Many Friends rejected this religious reductionism and resorted to a rigid adherence to the traditional legitimations offered by Holiness/Fundamentalist doctrines. But others were able to accept secular explanations of the empirical world while re-emphasizing the traditional Quaker legitimation of the spiritual world, or sacred reality, provided by the doctrine of the Inner Light. This was possible because the traditional Quaker "sacred reality" is very small (the individual), and it never sought a larger area, only a larger number.

1907 marked a watershed for Gurneyite Quakerism in the United States, however. Once the modernists within this group had taken control of the Five Years Meeting, they were able to institutionalize the mystical yet activist religion that Jones and his colleagues envisioned. The meeting's standing boards were given over almost entirely to social reform issues, and the Quaker ministry and the study of Quaker history were important topics at the sessions of 1907 and 1912. But the most important factor in the modernists' plan to reinvent American Quakerism was the *American Friend*.

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[83]Berger, p. 111.

With Rufus Jones at the editorial helm, the *American Friend* became a forum for modernist Quaker views. Articles appeared stressing the mystical, personal roots of Quakersim and lamenting the fact that the Holiness revival won many converts who "would have made excellent Methodists or Salvationists, but never had it in them to appreciate the inward and spiritual foundation upon which true Quakerism rests."[84] In contrast to the Holiness world, the world of the modernists presumably contained many excellent candidates. In a long essay on Quaker literature, Elbert Russell stated that it was time for a revival of the study of Quaker history because "we need a people who are capable of judging what is good for the Society and who know what leaders to follow; a people who will not be overawed by self-assertive or noisy ideas of divine guidance."[85]

Jones prepared the *American Friend* to become the official voice of the Five Years Meeting, and it continued to function as a forum for modernist views even after he had departed the editorship and much of the journal's space had been given over to the various standing boards of the Five

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[84]Edward Grubb, "Christ or Quakerismm?," *The American Friend* 12 (May 1905): p. 294.

[85]Elbert Russell, "Our Quaker Literature," *The American Friend* 12 (January 1905): p. 26.

Years Meeting. But more than its function as a Quaker forum, the journal's function as a direct instrument of the Five Years Meeting enabled the modernists to promote their vision of a distinctly traditional yet active and modern Quakerism when the threat of war shocked the American Protestant world.

Armed conflicts have created great turmoil and controversy among Friends since the Society's inception. The ostensibly "good wars" of this century in which the Allies were fighting to "make the world safe for democracy" obviously put Quakers who opposed war in a difficult situation, but the same can be said about earlier wars in America's history. Many Quakers believed that King George III and the British Parliament had become truly despotic by 1776 and therefore supported the fight for American independence. Likewise, many American Quakers saw slavery as a greater evil than war in 1861 and therefore supported the Union effort.

However, Quakers have always persuaded the government to recognize their traditional testimony against war. During the Revolutionary war, the states made provisions for non-combatants and these were improved upon by President Lincoln during the Civil War.[86] By the time of World War I,

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[86] Barbour, pp. 141-143 and 198. During the Revolutionary War, these provisions included allowing

Quakers were able to use the advance warning afforded them by England's entry into World War I to lobby effectively for protection of conscientious objector's rights. The fact that important government officials, including President Wilson and Herbert Hoover (himself a Quaker), were aware of the traditional Quaker peace testimony and were openly sympathetic to it demonstrates the government's willingness to allow Quakers to hold to their pacifistic principles.[87]

In many ways, World War I started for American Quakers with England's involvement. From 1914 on, all American Yearly Meetings were updated on the trial of English Friends through the London General Epistle. One of the Five Years Meeting's many agendas was to foster closer connections between Quakers in all nations and branches of the Society, and it had been particularly successful in establishing a dialogue with English Friends. The London Yearly Meeting sent delegates to every Five Years Meeting, and the *American Friend* frequently printed letters and articles written by English Friends. It also kept abreast of the problems

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Friends to hire a substitute to fight for them and permitting Friends to take affirmations of loyalty rather than oaths. However, refusal to comply met with fines or confiscation of property for the purpose of supporting the war effort. Lincoln attempted to meet Friends halfway by stipulating that money paid by Quakers in the form of substitute's fees or fines would be used for a Freedmen's fund or hospitals.

[87]Barbour, pp. 250-251.

experienced by English Friends when their nation first instituted a draft, and it chronicled the ways in which they handled the problem of serving both God and country. The impact that the English Friends' response to the war had on the course that the Five Years Meeting would take when the United States entered the war will be considered later.[88]

By 1916, enthusiasm for peace and arbitration were on the wane throughout the United States. The pages of the *American Friend* were filled with letters and articles about the nation's "War Preparedness Program." Since the establishment of the Five Years Meeting, Gurneyite Friends had been united in the belief that Quakerism was committed to the cause of peace and arbitration. But the prolonged war in Europe raised fundamental questions as to the best method for procuring peace. Many Quakers supported the formation of the League to Enforce Peace and did not find the use of force to subdue aggressors contradictory to Christianity. One Friend wrote that,

> If there is any place for force anywhere in the government of human affairs, we should

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[88]The London General Epistle was a letter updating American Friends on important happenings in English Quakerism and offering advice about perceived problems with American Quakerism. It was sent annually to each American Yearly Meeting where it was read to the delegates and printed in the minutes and was already a time honored tradition by the time World War I began.

> rather rejoice than complain if any of our fellow citizens can bring forth a scheme that will by force materially lessen the occurrence of wars.[89]

Others held that such an organization fostered the belief that might makes right and condemned it as contradictory to the cause of peace. These Friends generally held to the belief that "the whole preparedness program is uncalled for, and will do more to threaten the permanent peace of America than any other act we can perform as a nation."[90] All agreed that Quaker institutions should not be used for training men to fight, but there was no consensus as to how the United States could help achieve the defeat of the Germans without joining in the war effort against them.[91]

When the United States finally entered the war in April 1917, the *American Friend* printed a barrage of articles and letters defending the peace testimony and attesting to American Friends' commitment to it. After two months of

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[89]L. L. Hobbs, "A League to Enforce Peace," *The American Friend* 23 (January 1916): pp. 23-24.

[90]S. Edgar Nicholson, "Use of Force in Settling Difficulties," *The American Friend* 23 (February 1916): p. 107.

[91]The 1916 edition of the *American Friend* contains dozens of editorials and articles on war preparation. The editor printed several symposia which expressed differing views, but for the most part the journal condemned any course of preparation that included arms build up and training men to fight.

expressing and defending Quakerism's commitment to peace, the *American Friend* printed the following letter below a disclaimer for the views it expressed:

> Editor American Friend:
>
> Will you kindly allow me to protest against the assumption that some seem to make, that all Friends still hold the traditional view of "non-resistance." As a matter of fact, nearly all Friends of my acquaintance, while opposed to war, nevertheless recognize that war may sometimes be necessary and justifiable as a last resort, as in the present crisis.
>
> I am told on good authority that the Friends Church furnished more soldiers in the Civil war in proportion to its members than any other church. I confess that the pages of the American Friend would seem to indicate unanimity on this subject, but, once again, let me observe that I know of but one member of our local church that holds the ancient view. (Have heard this exception questioned.)
>
> Very recently a young man of our congregation at Webster, a professing Christian of unimpeachable character, one of the most regular pupils of our Sunday School, enlisted under the colors.
> I confess that my acquaintance is limited as compared with some others, but I can't believe that conditions are far different in other congregations.
>
> I think I am safe in saying that nine tenths of my acquaintance hold a view considering war and the carrying of arms similar to that of other Christians in other churches. Was not the founder of Westfield a colonel in the American Revolution?
>
> We are all opposed to war; the only question is how may war be successfully abolished? The writer hopes and believes, with many others, that this will be the last great war between civilized nations; that standing armies hereafter will be reduced to a police-force basis; and that

> armed conflicts will be limited to the control of barbarous and savage tribes. And I further believe, in common with one hundred million other fellow citizens, that this happy condition will be brought about most surely and quickly by loyal support of the government in its present policy of armed resistance against autocracy. I therefore sincerely believe that every printed or spoken word advising, urging, or suggesting that Friends refuse to carry arms, is very, very wrong from every point of view. God never commanded a few in one church one thing, and hundreds of millions of Christians in other churches an opposite thing.
>
> A. L. BALDWIN,
> Webster, Indiana.

Several weeks after this letter appeared, the editor printed a symposium of responses to it that had been sent in from around the country. It was prefaced by an insistence that "democracy is the cornerstone of Quaker polity," and that the suppression of free speech is one of the autocratic principles that the allies were fighting against. However, only two people who responded agreed with the letter's sentiments, and the symposium comes across as a condemnation of the views it expressed, no matter how democratic the editor intended it to be.[92]

In this instance, the *American Friend* had tried to be

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[92]"Editor American Friend:" *The American Friend* 23 (May 1917): 411; "A Symposium---Are Friends Still Friendly In Their Attitude Toward War?," *The American Friend* 23 (June 1917): pp. 484-487.

impartial in its function as a public forum. In its departmental pages it unfailingly promoted pacifism, but it was pacifism after the model that the English had developed in the three years since 1914. Because they complied with Quakerism's traditional refusal to bear arms, the loyalty of many English Quakers was called into question when the English Conscription Bill went into effect. Their refusal, which Friends called "witness to the peace testimony," caused them to suffer through a terrible persecution.

At the beginning of the war, however, English Friends had created the Friends' Ambulance Unit and the War Victim's Relief Committee and many Quakers voluntarily joined these services. While the work of these organizations did not alleviate the suffering of English Friends at home, their example of non-combatant service would help pacifistic Friends in the United States to escape the fate of English Quakers.[93] In fact, as they were aware of what English Friends were doing to alleviate suffering on the continent, some American Quakers joined their ranks and went overseas before the United Sates entered the war. Moreover, when the U.S. entered the war, a group of Philadelphia Friends quickly organized the American Friends Service Committee and began training volunteers for relief work.

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[93]*The History of Quakerism*, pp. 511-514.

The Five Years Meeting was quick to endorse the American Friends Service Committee and it therefore was allotted a page in the *American Friend*. By May, 1917, the Central Office of the AFSC was asking Friends to register for service through its page in the *American Friend*. For the next few months, the *American Friend* aggressively urged its readers to serve with the American Friends Service Committee through all of its departmental pages. It also urged male Friends of military age to ask a local attorney where they needed to go to file statements claiming exemption. The Young Friends office sent a letter to all pastors in the Five Years Meeting asking them to write letters to members who had been drafted explaining why they should claim exemption. It was suggested the pastors offer the following reasons:

- Friends should not spurn the honor conferred upon Quakerism by the government which released them for some form of constructive service.
- As Friends, they have principles which call for the sacrifice of their lives not unlike the principles of soldiers.

The emphasis here is clear and it was echoed in the *American Friend* throughout the war years: "Those who object to military service are under obligations not to allow their

scruples to become an excuse for non-action and freedom from sacrifice."[94]

When the Five Years Meeting convened in Richmond in 1917, the delegates to the annual gathering drafted a message expressing Gurneyite Quakerism's position on war. As published in the *American Friend* in November, 1917, the message reiterated the commitment to the peace testimony and pointed out that, "In every war-crisis, some of our members have gone along with the prevailing trend and method, but the body itself in its meeting capacity has remained through all the years unswervingly true to the spiritual ideal." The statement also said, however, that the organization did not judge those whose concept of duty compels them to take up arms. In addition, it emphasized the patriotic obligation to serve that all Friends shared:

> We desire to emphasize the positive aspect of our faith rather than to dwell upon a negative testimony, and it is our hope that our entire membership may now and in the future make a great constructive contribution of love and service, and may exhibit in this desperate time a Christian faith colored with the red blood of virility and heroism. We must not do less than those who believe that

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[94]Barbour, pp. 250-252; "Exemption of Friends from Military Service," *The American Friend* 24 (April 1917): p. 314; "Letter To Young Friends Exempted From Military Service," *The American Friend* 24 (October 1917): p. 609; Isaac Sharples, "Friends and War," *The American Friend* 24 (February 1917): pp. 145-149.

> war is necessary and who are ready to fight with carnal weapons, nor can we seek an easier way of life. This is a solemn hour for us. We and our faith are on trial.[95]

The Five Years Meeting continued throughout the war to urge its members to volunteer with the American Friends Service Committee and/or support it financially.

The American Friends Service Committee's programs enabled Friends who would not fight to serve both God and country. The Five Years Meeting realized this early on, and by aggressively soliciting its members to serve and publicizing the American Friends Service Committee's work it was able simultaneously to defend the peace testimony and project an image of a Quakerism that was unified in its patriotism and active service. In the process, it neatly turned the Government's exemption into a debt of service to the country and thereby created a new type of active pacifism that the Society of Friends continues to practice.[96]

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[95]"Message of the Five Years Meeting," *The American Friend* 24 (November 1917): p. 870.

[96]Barbour, pp. 263-265. Barbour and Frost note that after World War I, the American Friends Service Committee became an institutional way of expressing pacifism. The Committee remains very active and since World War II has redefined its purpose to society as one of promoting non-violent social change.

## First Friends in World War I

By the time the United States entered the war, First Friends' members had been in the habit of following the lead of the Five Years Meeting for fifteen years. Evidence of their attitudes and actions after April 1917 suggests that they continued to do so. Within a week of the United States' entry into the war, over four hundred people gathered at a meeting of young Friends in Richmond to consider the Quaker position in regard to the crisis and to develop a program for national service. Among those asked to address the meeting was Indianapolis attorney Wilson S. Doan. He echoed the sentiments of the speakers who had affirmed the Quaker commitment to pacifism and told the audience that, "the life and standing of our church fifty years hence depends upon your action today." He went on to stress that the "action" referred to was not merely a negative action of refusing to fight but a positive action of service to the nation and humanity.[97]

Obviously one man's position cannot be taken to represent the beliefs of a one thousand member congregation. But there is other evidence that First Friends members followed the prescriptions of the Five Years Meeting with

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[97]"Mass Meeting of Richmond Friends," *The American Friend* 24 (May 1917): p. 342.

regard to service during the war. One of the first things that the Central office of the Five Years Meeting urged Quaker congregations to do after the United States entered the war was to establish local chapters of the American Friends Service Committee. It recommended that the chairmen of these committees establish contact with the central office in Philadelphia and send any goods or money that their committees collected there. By August 1917, the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting had extended its Literature and Peace Committee and renamed it the Literature, Peace, and American Friends Service Committee. Evelyn Coate, wife of Alvin Coate, chairman of the Friends Publication Board of the Five Years Meeting, was appointed chairman and she immediately organized a knitting and sewing group to make clothing for children. The group grew so large that it had to move from the church to the Y.W.C.A., and by August 1918 nine hundred and eleven garments, along with bedding, wash cloths, and handkerchiefs had been sent overseas through the Philadelphia office. In her annual report, Mrs. Coate noted that the committee raised $3859.39 between August 1917 and August 1918. Of this total, $937.27 was spent on knitting and sewing, $400.00 of which was spent on surplus cloth and material in anticipation of inflated prices. The remaining $2926.07 was sent to the Philadelphia office. Mrs. Coate also reported that the committee had heard two illustrated

lectures bearing directly on Friends relief work and that such work was given special attention in numerous sermons and Sunday School classes throughout the year. In a final note, she indicated that six members of First Friends entered into foreign service with the American Friends Service Committee and four members entered into service with the domestic and foreign Y.M.C.A.[98]

Nothing shows the connection between the Five Years Meeting and First Friends better than the attitude toward members who enlisted for military service, however. In October 1917, the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting was postponed for a week because "large numbers" of the members were attending the Five Years Meeting in Richmond. At the conference, the organization voted to have the following letter sent its members who were drafted and were in military camps:

> The Five years meeting of Friends in America in session at Richmond, Indiana, sends you this message of love and sympathy.
>
> We have had your difficult position almost constantly before us, and our feeling of fellowship and desire to be of assistance to you has found frequent expression.
>
> You are now placed in the front line of battle for the preservation of our testimony to freedom of conscience. We would therefore have you realize that the Church is behind

[98]Minutes of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting 1-16-1919, p. 108.

you, praying for your support by divine power, and anxious to do all in our ability to strengthen your position.

The permanence of our religious liberty depends to a considerable degree upon your fidelity of conviction. We are your Friends,

Signed in and on behalf of the Meeting,

Robert E. Pretlow, *Clerk.*

At the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting in November 1917, the members united in "having placed upon our records the names of all those enlisted for service and a copy the letter sent to them by our church."[99]

The "Roll of Honor" listed seventeen men. Two things are significant about this list and the letter that accompanied it. The first is the timing. A note in the June 1917 issue of the *Silent Evangel* showed that nearly six months before the letter was written, six of these men were already "in training for some specific line of national service." During this period their names had not been mentioned at all in the Monthly Meeting minutes. Only after the Five Years Meeting had set the precedent did the Monthly Meeting move to officially recognize members who were

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[99]Minutes of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting 10-18-1917, 78; *Minutes of the Five Years Meeting of Friends in America Held in Richmond, Indiana, Tenth Month 16th to Tenth Month 22nd, 1917* (Richmond, Indiana: Ballinger Press, 1918) p. 187; Minutes of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting 11-22-1917, p. 81.

engaged in such service.[100]

The second important thing is the wording of the letter. Where the Five Years Meeting's letter is addressed to "drafted men in camp," the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting's letter is written, "To Those Who Serve." The former letter is addressed to men "in the front line of battle," whereas the latter letter is addressed to individuals who were "serving God and Country." It therefore seems clear from the wording of the Indianapolis letter that the majority of its absent members were not enlisted in the armed forces. Of the six names listed in the *Silent Evangel* notice mentioned above, only one had joined the armed forces. Three were at Haverford College training for work with the Friends Reconstruction Unit in Northern France, one was training for Y.M.C.A. work in Silver Bay, New York, and one was working with a unit of English Friends doing reconstruction work in France. Another man listed in the November 1917 minutes, Thomas L. Scott, was doing Y.M.C.A. work in France when he died of pneumonia in 1919. Of the seventeen men listed on the Roll of Honor, only one can be shown to have enlisted in the army while six definitely volunteered for some form of alternative duty.[101] The timing

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[100]*The Silent Evangel* v8 n2 (1917): p. 3.

[101]Minutes of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting 11-22-1917, p. 81; *The Silent Evangel* v8 n2 (1917): p. 3; "Rev. Albert

of the letter suggests that the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting followed the Five Years Meeting's lead in writing it. If so, why did the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting not address the letter specifically to men who had been drafted and were serving in the armed forces? Was it because the number of Indianapolis Friends in the armed services was not significant?

The Five Years Meeting's position was clearly supportive of members who felt compelled to serve in the armed forces. But there are no references to members who had chosen to serve in the military anywhere in the minutes of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting during the war years. On the other hand, the minutes do mention that ten members volunteered for non-military service. They also show that an eleventh, pastor Willard Trueblood, set an example of service for his congregation by entering into domestic service with the Y.M.C.A. Combined with the fact that First Friends had an active local chapter of the American Friends Service Committee, this evidence suggests that the majority of Indianapolis Friends who chose to serve did so through the American Friends Service Committee or Y.M.C.A. rather than the United States Military.[102]

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J. Brown Dies," 24 *Indianapolis News* 18 March 1922: p. 17.

[102]Minutes of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting 3-21-1918, p. 89 and 9-19-1918, p. 100.

This is precisely what the Five Years Meeting advocated through the *American Friend*. The report of the Literature, Peace, and American Friends Service Committee for the year between August 1918 and August 1919 noted that ninety-eight families within First Friends subscribed to the *American Friend*. It also stated that, "bulletins of the American Friends Service Committee have been distributed as they came into our possession, and the literature and message of the work of the American Friends Service Committee has been kept before our meeting."[103]

In 1917 the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting appointed an Efficiency Committee to assess the performance of its various committees. In 1918, it presented a report that was adopted by the Indianapolis Monthly Meeting. In it, the committee recommended that, "all of the committees and departments that affiliate directly with Committees of the Yearly Meeting and Five Years Meeting be designated as Major Committees." To better organize and direct the work of these Committees, the Efficiency Committee recommended that, "the heads of the Major Committees with the Pastor as member ex-officio be designated as [an] Advisory Committee to formulate plans and policies for the working program of the Church." By the end of the war, First Friends had

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[103]Minutes of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting 1-16-1920, p. 142.

officially structured itself according to the model of the Five Years Meeting, and the majority of its membership subscribed to the *American Friend.* It is therefore clear that, in the case of First Friends, the Five Years Meeting was effectively able to promote adherence to the peace testimony during World War I.[104]

In his *History of Quakerism,* Elbert Russell claims that a large proportion of the members of the Five Years Meeting "sanctioned and supported the war." He shows that the membership of the Five Years Meeting contributed less than 15 percent of the total amount of money contributed by Friends to the American Friends Service Committee through the beginning of 1919. His statistics, projected from the 27 percent of the Monthly Meetings in the Five Years and Ohio Yearly Meetings that responded to his survey, suggest that, "of the young men drafted or liable to the draft possibly 350 stood out against any service under military direction as straight out C.O.'s; about 600 accepted some form of non-combatant service, and about 2,300 went into combatant service."[105]

This study of the relationship between the Five Years Meeting and First Friends Church in Indianapolis shows that

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[104]Minutes of Indianapolis Monthly Meeting 5-26-1918, p. 82.

[105]*The History of Quakerism,* p. 516.

we need to examine exactly what it meant for a Quaker or body of Quakers to have "sanctioned and supported the war." The Five Years Meeting, though despairing of the fact that the nation had resorted to armed conflict, clearly supported the United States' cause in World War I. It insisted that Friends were no less liable to sacrifice and service to this cause than others. But through its pages in the *American Friend* and its connection with the American Friends Service Committee, it prescribed adherence to the traditional peace testimony to its members by promoting an active pacifism that involved the same element of service, sacrifice and risk that soldiers undertook when drafted.

At the time of World War I, the Five Years Meeting represented more than three fourths of America's Quakers. As an official body, it represented the views of these Quakers in the Federal Council of Churches, at Congressional hearings, and in religious federations and reform societies throughout the country. This body, though it insisted on Quaker patriotism and a sense of duty to the nation, clearly promoted adherence to the peace testimony through active service in the American Friends Service Committee or other non-combatant outfits. It urged its young men to file for exemption from the draft and, regardless of whether or not the numbers suggest that the majority ignored its plea, it did not promote military service or sanction the views

expressed in A. L. Baldwin's letter to the *American Friend*.

In 1902, when modernism had begun to supplant revivalism in the American Protestant mainstream, the Five Years Meeting endorsed the revival's conflation of Quakerism and Protestant Christianity through the uniform discipline. Gurneyite meetings could no longer disown members for not keeping the traditional Quaker customs. This meant that the status of members who chose to fight in World War I was never in jeopardy. But this does not mean that the Gurneyite Society abandoned the peace testimony when the United States entered World War I. On the contrary, of all the testimonies and customs that once differentiated Friends from other Christians, the peace testimony was the one that the Five Years Meeting promoted most stridently as the identifying creed of Friends' during the war. It was a new version of the peace testimony, but it still served to differentiate Quakers from the rest of society.[106] And the

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[106]Barbour, p. 251. In their assessment of American Friends in World War I, Barbour and Frost assert that, "the corporate power of the Meeting to compel the behavior of members had slowly eroded during the last half of the nineteenth century and was no more." This paper was intended to use First Friends to show that this erosion of prescriptive authority resulted in the demise of the peace testimony as an identifying Quaker doctrine. However, the evidence I found shows that the Five Years Meeting loudly proclaimed the importance of the peace testimony and First Friends heeded its call. Closer studies of individual Quaker communities might show that the "corporate Power of the Meeting" in 1917 may have been stronger than historians have thus far realized.

fact that Quakers were forced once again to put this belief into practice when so many modernist Christians had believed they never would shows that the world was not ready for Quakersim after all.

## Epilogue

In 1905, before a divisive split between Holiness and Modernist Quakers seemed inevitable, Rufus Jones predicted that, "Before another century has passed all the great denominations—the truly evangelical denominations—will close up their gaps and solidify their forces." Two years later, when Holiness adherents threatened to "carry the church into a type of effervescent Christianity," Jones proclaimed that the world was "on the outer fringe of a revival of mystical religion."[107]

Neither of these predictions proved true. The first reflected the hope of many American Protestant visionaries in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. To come to fruition, their vision required that all Christians accept the new scientific legitimations of the empirical universe and participate in the religious activity of improving, and eventually perfecting, society within the given secular world. A significant minority of Christians refused, and continue to refuse, to accept secular legitimation. Though this division split Quakers into two camps and ultimately into two separate bodies, it seemed to have at least united the majority of Quakers with the

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[107]See Chapter Two, pp. 41-44.

American Protestant mainstream.[108]

However, the fact that Jones' second prediction failed to come true prevented that union from ever really coming to fruition. Though Quakers may inhabit the same outer world as mainstream Protestants, their inner world has remained very different. As Jones noted, for Friends to enter completely into the larger Protestant world, that world would have to accept the traditional mystical legitimations that originally created, and continue to support, the Quaker's sacred reality. The peculiar beliefs, particularly those reflected in the traditional testimony against war, that support the central doctrine of the Inner Light have served to create and sustain a gap between Quakers and the Protestant mainstream. If the sectarian boundaries that once isolated Quakers from the rest of society had been eroded by the time of World War I, the doctrine of the Inner Light and its reflection in adherence to the peace testimony enabled individual Friends to separate themselves from the larger Protestant world.

Sitting through ten minutes of "unstructured worship" at a Quaker meeting demonstrates this difference. The sacred world created and sustained in that moment is very

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[108]Endy, Jr., p. 610. Holiness Friends, after many years of attempting to influence Orthodox Quakerism from within, finally separated and formed the Evangelical Friends

different than the one created at a Presbyterian, Methodist, or Episcopalian service.

As many scholars have shown, Quakerism has "come to the world" in many ways and degrees since the eighteenth century. But it is misleading to conclude that it is a denomination in the same sense as those mentioned above. It is a mystical tradition that has taken on the trappings of a sect whenever the prevailing denominational outlook stifles individual spirituality. This was true in George Fox's time and it was true during the revivals of the nineteenth century…"Holiness Friend" is fundamentally a contradiction in terms.

However, with the advent of modernist Protestantism in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, Quakers recognized a denominational structure that seemed capable of encompassing their spirituality and enthusiastically joined this "evolving Protestantism" for a time. But World War I and its aftermath shattered the worldview that sustained modernist Protestantism and thereby separated, if not as noticeably, Quakers from the Protestant world once again.

Quakerism has indeed come, or at least tried to come, to the world many times since the eighteenth century. However, at its most fundamental level, Quakerism sits and silently waits for the world to come to it.

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Alliance in 1965.

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